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ROSATI'S ELECTION TO THE COADJUTORSHIP OF NEW ORLEANS

In a letter to Father Colucci, dated St. Louis, Mo., April 27, 1818, Father De Andreis expressed his judgment about Father Joseph Rosati in the following terms: "Great are my anticipations concerning Father Rosati. Young, robust, very pious, absolutely devoid of self-seeking, full of zeal and of talent, he has bewildered the most experienced missioners by his English preaching, and I have heard some exclaim: 'Never did man speak like this man.' All who know him are fascinated by the piety and cheerful geniality of his conversation. I have not the slightest doubt that before long they will want to make him a bishop: well, God's will be done!"

That this anticipation was due to a gleam of prophetic light may be more than the words of the saintly missionary permit us to assert; but it is safe to say that the mental caliber and the sterling sacerdotal qualities of Father Rosati were of the kind which would unconsciously possess an attraction for all those who knew him, his superiors especially. It is certain also that no one was ever further from the thought of the mitre than the humble, simple, unassuming superior of the Seminary and College, then just begun at the "Barrens." After performing his exercises of piety and teaching the many classes he was conducting, he had no thought but for trees to be felled, improvements to be made, mortar, and the constant, difficult problem of supplying "daily bread" for his charges. So alien were his aspirations to whatever might be termed ambition, that all his letters to the Vicar General of his Congregation in Rome bemoaned his woeful lack of anything like administrative ability. He considered himself a dismal failure and earnestly begged and

urged, so far as obedience allowed him to do so, that someone else be appointed in his place, who would not spoil the work of God.

Yet Divine Providence had decreed that he should be the first bishop consecrated in the large territory west of the Mississippi river, which had been acquired twenty years before by the United States.

Even after the erection of the Sees of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) and Bardstown, on April 8, 1808,[1] the jurisdiction of Baltimore extended to Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, the two Carolinas, Alabama and Mississippi. Moreover, by a decree from Rome, dated October 1, 1805, the Ordinary of Baltimore had been entrusted with the administration of the Church in Louisiana and Florida, widowed at that time of its spiritual head by the departure of Bishop Luis Peñalver y Cardenas in 1801.[2] To this was added, in 1811, the spiritual care of some of the Danish and Dutch West Indies.

Of the large territory then united into this immense Diocese, Louisiana was the farthest away from the archiepiscopal city. New Orleans had been erected into an Episcopal See in 1793, and it was natural that its autonomy should be restored as soon as the troublous circumstances which had disturbed the Church of that city should improve. Accordingly, by virtue of special faculties granted to him by Propaganda, Archbishop Carroll appointed, in 1812, Father William Du Bourg, Vicar Apostolic of Louisiana and Florida;[3] this title was changed, in 1815, into that of Bishop of Louisiana (New Orleans). The new Diocese covered practically the whole territory known as the Louisiana Purchase, and embraced, besides, an undetermined territory along the Gulf coast (Southwestern Louisiana and South Texas), bounded by the Dioceses of Linares and Durango in Mexico;[4] juridically the two Floridas also continued to be annexed to it.

[1] *Archivio di Prop. Fide, Atti.* (1814), ff. 166–183.

[2] When Bishop Peñalver was promoted to the See of Guatemala, on July 20, 1801, a successor was appointed for the See of New Orleans; but the transfer of Louisiana from the crown of Spain to France, and again to the United States likewise caused the transfer of the appointee to another Diocese in the Spanish Dependencies.

[3] Florida, which first belonged to the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba, had been by Consistorial Decree of September 10, 1787, placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Havana, Cuba; by Apostolic Letters of April 25, 1793, it was annexed to the Diocese of New Orleans. Brief of January, 1823, to Father Rosati.

[4] SHEA, Vol. ii, p. 570.

While Bishop Du Bourg was in Europe, trying his utmost to secure priests for his large Diocese,[5] rumors were circulated in America touching the establishment of an Episcopal See in Upper Louisiana. The prelate, before leaving America, had, indeed, expressed "his intention to propose to the Holy See the 'dismemberment' of Upper Louisiana from the See of New Orleans, and the placing of that territory under the jurisdiction of Bishop Flaget (of Bardstown). The latter endorses on the back of the letter that he considers this plan very feasible and proper." This is in no way surprising, since he appears to have been the originator of it.[6] The proposition was received quite favorably by Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda, who, however, sought the opinion of Archbishop Carroll before submitting any definite plan to the Holy Father.[7] The reports received from Rome were of such a nature that Bishop Flaget sent the following *Circular*[8] to be communicated to the priests of Upper Louisiana and Illinois by Father Donatian Olivier, pastor of the Church at Prairie du Rocher, Illinois:

March 3, 1816.

Very Venerable Brother:

Without further preamble, I must tell you, that, probably before the close of the year, you will have a resident bishop at St. Louis or St. Genevieve, whose bishopric, if I mistake not, will embrace the territories of Missouri and Illinois; those of Indiana and Michigan are to be added, till other orders. This arrangement will not take place until all the inhabitants of that country agree to reverence the bishop and his lawful successors and establish a fund sufficient to support a seminary. This news is official, and I beg you to make it known to all the parishes on this and the other side of the Mississippi. And in order that this affair might proceed with all possible prudence, I thought it advisable that each parish should hold a general meeting for the election of a deputy; that all the deputies should, at a certain specified time, meet at St. Louis to deliberate: 1st. Concerning what annual revenue they can allow

[5] The Diocese of New Orleans, before Bishop Du Bourg's departure for Europe, numbered only ten priests, most of them rather old (letter of Father Rosati to Father Baccari, May, 4 1821). Cf. SPALDING, *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget*, p. 91. Louisville, 1852.

[6] SPALDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–67.

[7] Cardinal Litta's letter to the Archbishop of Baltimore was dated December 23, 1815, twenty days after the death of the Archbishop.

[8] An original French copy of this *Circular* is preserved in the church of St. Genevieve, Mo. The present partial translation is that given in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxi (1904), pp. 158–60.

their bishop. 2nd. Concerning the means for securing the revenue; and it ought to be a ready means and free from entanglements. 3rd. Concerning his house and furniture and a servant. 4th. Concerning a site for a seminary which ought to be near the church and the bishop's residence, and on land which some day might yield enough to support and educate a good number of young men destined for the ecclesiastical state. 5th. Concerning a sum sufficient to defray the expenses which the bishop would incur in going thither and in procuring the vestments needed. They might also discuss whether it would be of greater advantage to that country to have the episcopal see at St. Louis or at St. Genevieve. These deliberations having been made and committed to writing, they will be submitted to Monseigneur, the Bishop of New Orleans, and to me for examination. Whatever observations we intend to make will be communicated to you, and as soon as all the parties are agreed, the results will be as quickly as possible forwarded to the Roman Curia, where they await but this to expedite the bulls.

The great temporal sacrifices, which the inhabitants will have to make in this matter, will be amply recompensed by the spiritual advantages, which will be permanently secured to them. I myself am convinced that in a few years the population will increase so rapidly by emigration from other States, that in less than ten years property will be worth twice or three times its present value. They would then be deplorably blind to their own interests and the interests of their posterity, if out of mere temporary considerations they should reject the favors offered them and sacrifice, perhaps forever, the hope of an episcopal see. Since the location of the see chiefly depends on the choice to be made by DuBourg or myself, I am fully determined to oppose with all my might its being at St. Louis, if it is true, what they write to me, that there is a theatre there which would make useless all the efforts of the most zealous and holy bishop. Indeed, what use would it be for a prelate to wage war on vanity, luxury and deceit while the stage-players, in principle and practice, were sanctioning deceit, luxury and vanity; this would be trying to make companions of light and darkness, of truth and falsehood, of Belial and the God of Israel; now this I cannot consent to. I hope that the citizens of St. Louis will come to their senses and they will not cast aside, out of love for vanity and falsehood, the incalculable benefits which will infallibly result from the presence of a bishop in their city and from the various institutions which he will be able to found there. Induce the people of that country to enter within themselves, to weep over their sins and purify their consciences, in order that by fervent and continual prayer they may be able to obtain from God, a holy bishop inflamed with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Give orders that in all the parishes where there is a priest the *Veni Creator* and prayer to the Holy Ghost be chanted for this purpose, before or after Mass, and if there be no choir let them say a chaplet of the beads for the same intention. I desire that the priests, at least once

a month say the Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost for the same object, since their welfare as well as that of the people depends in good measure upon the choice our Holy Father the Pope will make. As all the inhabitants of that country are well known and very dear to me, assure them I shall join in their prayers. For no one in the world desires more than I do their happiness in time and eternity.

I am with all the friendship possible,

Your very devoted servant,

✠Benoit J., *Bishop of Bardstown.*

The question of the incumbent of the projected See had likewise begun to be discussed. Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Flaget were of the opinion that a Frenchman would best suit the new See, and the former put forward the name of his friend of Bardstown. He did not deem the proposition in the least incongruous, for "according to the plan," as he explained, "the new See of St. Louis was to remain under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See" until the erection of a new Archbishopric in the West, to which St. Louis would be attached.[9] Cardinal Litta seems to have approved this choice.[10] Bishop Flaget himself was not, at first, averse to the change, as we learn from his letter early in 1815, to Mr. Gratiot, of St. Louis. Later on, however, he modified his attitude, as is evident from the following letter he wrote on June 26, 1816, to Archbishop Neale:[11]

Most Rev'd Father:

It is a great pity that the people who ought to afford us nothing but relief and consolation, are precisely those that give us more trouble. Thus, indeed, was our divine Master treated by his very disciples; we his Servants are not to expect a better treatment, and we are to rejoice that we are found worthy to suffer for him.

According to your request I candidly pass my opinion about the erection of a new See at St. Louis. I firmly believe that the place is of the utmost importance for the good of religion, not only on account of the many Catholics that live there now, of those that will immediately emigrate thither, as soon as they hear that there is a Catholic Bishop, but much more so on account of the many nations of Indians that have never heard of the Christian faith. The Bishop that is to be sent thither must be accompanied by a good number of priests and zealous

[9] SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[10] Letter to Archbishop Carroll, December 23, 1815.

[11] The original is in the Archives of Baltimore. Cf. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xix (1902), p. 108. The text as given there is faulty and betrays the copyist's unfamiliarity with archival sources.

ones, because the country is almost destitute of them. A seminary and College must be erected in order to give to the Catholic religion a superiority over all the other sects that are moving every stone to pull down our faith and build their errors on its ruins. The RR.[13] Jesuits are certainly those that would suit the best in those quarters, for sixty years ago they carried on almost all the work at the missions both among the French people and the Indians, and their names there[13] yet in the greatest veneration. If the Holy Father was to send a Jesuit as a Bishop and give five or six companions, I do not entertain the least doubt, but in less than twenty years it would be the most flourishing diocese of all those that are in the United States. But if the Pope sends thither a Bishop by himself or with one or two priests only, nothing good will result from his missions; he will work as a zealous missionary, but he will do nothing as a Bishop.

As to my translation to that See, if ever it takes place, it will be attended by a great many inconveniences in Kentucky. I have erected a Seminary where there are now seven young men studying divinity and five others more or less advanced in their studies according to the time of their coming. The Monasteries for public schools in which there are about thirty girls that have taken their vows, or are ready to take them, their success in teaching and instructing their pupils of every denomination has far surpassed our expectations. All these establishments, if ever I am ordered to go, are threatened with immediate ruin, because all the priests that attend them will follow me. Besides the building of my cathedral in Bardstown which is going on with good speed will be stopped all at once, if the people hear that I am going to move with Messrs. David, Chabat[14] to[15] Scheiffer and for it this building is so much encouraged. It is on account of the great esteem and affections which both Catholics and Protestants entertain for us. Louisiana, on another hand, will not gain much by my translation, for though I would take along with me Messrs. David, Chabat[16] etc., we wouldn't be strong enough to carry on the business properly and very little good would result from our operations. Besides until now St. Sulpicius has not acknowledged my seminary as a Seminary belonging to the Company and every day I am threatened with loosing[17] Messrs. David and Chabat,[18] which would cut off all hope of success.

The R.R. Mr. Durhenny[19] informed me that the Court of Rome has a notion to send Mr. Gallitzin in my place. If ever he comes alone, he may be sure he will count his days by his trials and tribulations: for either he must blindly submit to the old priests that will remain here, or he will be at war with them, without any hope of obtaining victory.

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[13] Probably *FF.* (Fathers).
[13] *are* to be supplied.
[14] Chabrat.
[15] Read *and.*
[16] Chabrat.
[17] Read *losing.*
[18] Chabrat.
[19] Read *Dubourg.*

Quod experientia constat. But if Mr. Gallatzin[20] can come with three or four priests, addicted to his cause and capable to support his measures, then he will succeed and Kentucky will gain by his translation.

The difficulty will be for the Court of Rome, to supply the Bishop with as many Priests as mentioned. Then it will be better not to appoint any, for a Bishop without priests may be compared to an excellent general who could pretend to gain victories without an army. Before I close my letter I beg of you to inform me who is the executor of the Most Rd. Dr. Carroll's will for I have been told he has bequeathed something to me, but the intelligence did not come officially. If you write to the Cardinal perfect[21] of the Propaganda be so good as to make him sensible of the great inconveniences that would result from my translation, and you will serve the cause of religion in Kentucky and oblige in a particular manner

Your most humble and obed. Servt.

✠Benedict Joseph, *Bishop of Bardstown.*

The plan, however, never matured. Archbishop M. J. Spalding attributes its failure to "the bad spirit manifested by a party in New Orleans"[22] opposed to Bishop Du Bourg. This view is well founded. On account of this "bad spirit," it had been decided that Bishop Du Bourg would settle in St. Louis; the erection of a See and the appointment of a Bishop there were consequently, for the time being at least, out of question. Meanwhile, he had been quite successful in securing from Italy and France priests for his mission, and both Upper and Lower Louisiana would be taken care of and the hope of better days entertained. On August 8, 1816, Bishop Flaget received definite intelligence that he was not to be transferred to St. Louis. This did not mean the absolute abandonment of the plan, but merely its being left in abeyance. It was taken up again in 1819, in a slightly modified form at least, by the Bishops of New Orleans and of Bardstown. There was talk at that time of erecting a new Episcopal See at Cincinnati. Bishop Du Bourg thought that, consequent upon its establishment, an Archbishopric should be created in the West and located either at Bardstown or at St. Louis. But Rome was then apparently arranging other plans for the United States. Whatever may have been the whole project entertained, one of its features was

[20] Gallitzin.

[21] Read *Prefect.*

[22] SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p 168.

the appointment of a Coadjutor to the Bishop of Louisiana; and for this office the Cardinal Prefect proposed—on whose recommendation we know not—Father Rossetti, a secular priest, a native of Milan, and one of Bishop Du Bourg's recruits for the Louisiana mission. Father Rossetti had come to America in 1818, reaching the "Barrens" on January 5, 1819. Some months later he begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission and commenced his novitiate; but shortly afterwards he left "on account of a certain malady," as Father Rosati charitably puts it in a letter to Father Baccari, on June 23, 1821.

How Bishop Du Bourg received the proposal of a Coadjutor is not known; but he saw clearly that Propaganda had been imposed upon in the matter of the candidate, and he was quite outspoken about it (October 1, 1821):

> "Quod D. Rossetti Mediolanensem iterata jam vice mihi ad Episcopatum proposuerit Sacra Congregatio, satis arguit minus notum fuisse hunc sacerdotem. Praeterquam enim ita corpore deformis est ut ipsius aspectus risum Americanis moveret, profunda tum humaniorum tum divinorum inscitia laborat, Gallici et Angli idiomatum aeque rudis, sed quod pejus est, jam duobus retro annis summo omnium nostrum dolore et molestia in vesaniam penitus actus est. . . . Tandem post annum integrum in hoc deplorabili statu exactum, mente partim recuperata in patriam regredi voluit, ubi eum incolumem appulisse confido."

Some time later, when Bishop Du Bourg had settled in New Orleans, he wrote again to Rome, to urge the resumption of the former plan. After the Rossetti incident, there is a touch of the *piquant* in his insistence upon "the appointment of such persons only, for Bishops in the United States, as were already fully acquainted with our missions, and as would be properly recommended by the American prelates." For the new Diocese of St. Louis, he proposed Father Bruté as the first, and Father Rosati as the second, on the list; and he suggested that the new Diocese should embrace Missouri, Illinois, and that portion of Arkansas north of the river bearing the same name. Once more the scheme failed, but this time because Rome had already taken steps in another direction, as can be seen from the Brief sent to Father Rosati on August 13, 1822.

Archbishop Maréchal had no sooner taken charge of the then

exceedingly large Diocese of Baltimore (1817), than he petitioned the Holy See to erect a new bishopric, to be formed out of the remotest States and Territories under his care. "The good of religion," he said in his Report to Propaganda, October 16, 1818, "demands that a bishop should be created directly in the Southern States, who could sow, nurture and water the seed of Catholic faith, before Protestant ministers have a chance to spread their false doctrines. Accordingly, I most humbly and earnestly beg the Sacred Congregation to obtain from the Holy Father the erection of an Episcopal See at Charleston, S. C., and that as quickly as possible."[23] Archbishop Maréchal proposed that the new Diocese include the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and the Territory of Mississippi. Other influences, however, were active in Rome, of which the Metropolitan of Baltimore was not unaware; and despite his opposition, two new Sees—those of Richmond (Virginia) and Charleston (North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia) were created on July 1 and 12, 1820. Clearly, Cardinal Fontana's knowledge of American Geography was deficient, as by this decision the Archdiocese was split into two sections a thousand miles apart: the one, including Maryland and the District of Columbia, and the other, Mississippi and Northern Alabama, with the two new Dioceses between.[24]

Later events manifested the impracticability of this scheme. The See of Charleston, although deprived of the Western Territories which Archbishop Maréchal wished to be incorporated thereto, proved to be permanent; whereas the Diocese of Richmond, after two years of a precarious existence, was placed again under the jurisdiction of Baltimore, its Bishop (Bishop Patrick Kelly) being transferred to the See of Lismore and Waterford, in Ireland.

The awkward condition created by the decrees of July, 1820, as regards the Territory of Mississippi called loudly for redress. There was, it is true, an agreement between the Archbishop of Baltimore and the Bishop of New Orleans, according to which the latter prelate administered the western half of the Baltimore

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[23] Cf. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i (1915-16), pp. 450-1.

[24] The southern part of Alabama remained in the Diocese of New Orleans.

Diocese as Vicar General of its lawful Ordinary.[25] This arrangement, however, was deemed unsatisfactory, owing particularly to the fact that Bishop Du Bourg, on his return from Europe (1817–1818), on account of troubled condition in the Church of Louisiana, had fixed his residence in St. Louis, which was nearly as far from the Territory of Mississippi as Baltimore itself. However, on November 19, 1820, he set out to visit Lower Louisiana, where such an enthusiastic welcome was everywhere tendered him that he remained.[26] But the Prefect of Propaganda apparently had not yet been apprized of this change;[27] hence, on August 13, 1822, the Sacred Congregation decided to erect the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama into a Vicariate Apostolic, and to appoint thereto Father Rosati, who was nominated Bishop of Tenagra *i. p. i.*

Shea tells us that, since Northern Alabama and Mississippi belonged to the Diocese of Baltimore, the action taken by Propaganda "seems to have elicited a protest from Archbishop Maréchal."[28] Such a protest would suppose that the dismemberment was made without the consent, and perhaps without the knowledge, of that prelate—a disregard of the usual procedure which is hardly credible. As a matter of fact, Archbishop Maréchal, who had set out for Rome at the end of 1821, was

[25] "Cumque territoria duo Mississipii et Alabamae, in foederatis Americae provinciis, quorum spirituale regimen pertinebat ad Baltimorensem Archiepiscopatum, a Metropolitana Sede tam dissita sint, ut cum Archiepiscopus eorum curam gerere non posset, ea Neo-Aurelianensi Episcopo tanquam Vicario Suo Generali committere cogeretur. . . ." *Apost. Letter*, August 13, 1822.

[26] "Sopratutto si è veduto la mano di Dio nella mutazione successa ne'cuori degli avversarii del Vescovo, nella riconciliazione sincera e perfetta del P. Antonio, il quale presentemente è forse la persona che vi sia in Diocesi più attaccata al Vescovo. Quel buon prelato ha avuta la consolazione di vedere da vicino quanto Le ho accennato nella visita che ha fatta di tutte le parrocchie della Bassa Luigiana; mi scrive che tutto è andato al di là de' suoi desiderii. Da per tutto è stato accolto come in trionfo. . . . Non meno de' popoli, Monsige., ho avuto motivo di esser contento de' Parrochi; ha tenuto il Sinodo Diocesano alla Na. Orleans, ed ha ammirato il zelo di tutti i Curati." (Fr. Rosati to Fr. Baccari. May 4, 1821.)

[27] "Cum Episcopus Novae Aureliae ob translatam suam residentiam in civitate S. Ludovici in Luisiana Superiori quae leucas circiter quingentas ab iisdem territoriis" (Miss. and Ala.) "distat eorum curam amplius exercere non possit." (Brief, August 18, 1822.) Bishop Du Bourg's change of residence was still unknown in Rome in January, 1823, for the Brief issued on the twenty-first of that month recites the same statement.

[28] *Op. cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 73.

in Rome when the erection of the Vicariate was decided upon, had brought back to America the Brief sent by Propaganda to Father Rosati, and was to forward the same to his address.[29] It is hard to believe that Propaganda confided to the prelate documents of such importance without acquainting him with their contents; and if he was privy to the transaction, as appears quite probable, then there can be little doubt that his consent had been obtained, or at least his objections overruled, and therefore there was no longer occasion for a protest. A manuscript *Life* of Bishop Rosati, written in Italian about 1847, and kept in the *Archives* of the Roman Procurators of the Congregation of the Mission,[30] thus recites the proceedings:

> Archbishop Maréchal explained all this [31] at Rome; and the necessity of new divisions and of the creation of new Sees once known and approved, *he succeeded in obtaining at least* this much, that out of the two territories of Mississippi and Alabama, taken away from the jurisdiction of Baltimore, a Vicariate Apostolic was formed, to which Father Joseph Rosati was appointed with the title and dignity of Bishop. A Pontifical Brief which settled these matters was issued on August 13, 1822; the Archbishop took it along with him when he went back to America, and on reaching home sent it at once to Father Rosati.

But we have something still better as a source of authentic information, namely, the Brief of July 14, 1823, referred to by Shea. In this document it is explicitly stated, contrary to the assertion of the learned historian, that the creation of the Vicariate in 1822 was consequent on the fact that "*Baltimorensis Archiepiscopus a spirituali eorumdem territoriorum regimine* SE SPONTE DIMISERIT."

However this may be, the Brief of August 13, 1822, together with other documents from Propaganda, dated September 7 and 13, and a copy of the Faculties, both ordinary and extraordinary, granted to the American Bishops, signed on September 8,[32] and, moreover, certain letters sent him from Monte-Citorio reached the Seminary at the "Barrens" on January 23, 1823. We can obtain a fair idea of what Father Rosati's feelings then

[29] Letter of Father Rosati to Father Baccari, January 24, 1823, *cited below*.

[30] *America*. P. ii, Monsig. Rosati, p. 31.

[31] That is, the unsatisfactory conditions then existing; he, too, was ignorant of Bishop Du Bourg's change of residence, which had taken place after his departure from America.

[32] *Diary* of Bishop Rosati.

were from the following letter written the very next day to Father Baccari, Vicar General of the Congregation of the Mission at Rome:[33]

> Yesterday evening I received your letters sent me through the Archbishop of Baltimore. The joy and delight first experienced in reading them have given place to the greatest affliction, which assailed me on unfolding a document from the S. C. of Propaganda despatched to me through the same channel, notifying me that I have been appointed Bishop *in partibus*, and Vicar Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama. That was truly for me a thunderbolt. I did not hesitate for a moment to resolve to refuse a burden which is beyond my strength in every regard. To this end I warmly recommend myself to you, in order that you may obtain that the Holy Father and His Eminence Card. Consalvi grant me the favor of accepting my refusal. I am devoid of everything that is required for such a tremendous office: virtue, enlightenment, experience, etc. You know how many times I have begged you to take away from me the burden, which someone else could carry better than I. Do me, therefore, the favor to interpose in my behalf, and have prayers addressed to our Holy Founder for me, that I may not be denied the grace of continuing to live among his sons; of this I am unworthy, I know; but still more unworthy am I of so high a position in the Church of God; and if I have the misfortune to see my prayers unheard, then it behooves me to say that I am of the number of those who, by the just judgment of God, *in altum tolluntur ut lapsu graviore ruant*. I trust it will not be so. I am writing to you with tears in my eyes, and scarce know what I am writing.

One month later his feelings were still the same, and his determination to refuse the honor and burden proffered, more firmly set than ever. Here is what he confided to his brother on the whole affair on February 24:[34]

> An event which I will consider as the most calamitous of all those which have ever broken the peace and tranquillity of my life has lately been for me the cause of the greatest affliction. The Holy Father has appointed and elected me Bishop. Card. Consalvi has forwarded to me the Apostolic Briefs containing this appointment, and enjoining me to be consecrated as soon as possible. The mere sight of those letters was for me a thunderbolt striking me most unexpectedly. I did not hesitate for a moment to decide that, as the Episcopal dignity and burden are beyond my strength, it was my duty to refuse. I wrote so much to Card. Consalvi, to our Vicar General and to some others. I hope the Lord

[33] *Archives of the Procurators General C.M., Rome, America*, p. ii. Monsig. Rosati, pp. 21–32. The letter is in Italian.

[34] *Id.* Letters to Nicola Rosati, at Sora. The original is in Italian.

will grant me the grace to deliver me from such a burden. Nothing can induce me to take it upon my shoulders, outside of the force of obedience. I shall deem myself happy if I am allowed to work in the lowest rank of the laborers who tend the Lord's vineyard, without running the risks to which those who occupy the highest positions are exposed. I am waiting most anxiously the answers from Rome, and I shall not recover my composure until I see my wishes fulfilled.

These candid and straightforward expressions of Father Rosati's humility ring true. He was thoroughly in earnest, and indeed left no means unemployed to ward off what he considered the severest blow that had ever fallen upon him. He had written "a warm, nay, even a fiery"[35] letter to Cardinal Consalvi, Prefect of Propaganda; another "warm letter" he wrote to Msgr. Caprano, Secretary of the same Congregation,[36] yet others to Father Baccari;[37] Bishop Flaget and Bishop Du Bourg he persuaded to plead his cause.[38] The latter prelate, whom this appointment threatened to deprive of a most active co-laborer, at once wrote to Rome, grounding his plea upon three arguments: first, the uselessness of the recently created Vicariate, for the Catholics were few in the Territories allotted to it; secondly, the inopportuneness of the erection, as these few Catholics were unable to support a Bishop; and thirdly and foremost, Father Rosati's departure would surely mean the ruin of the establishment of the Mission, which was the object of his care and solicitude, and on which so much money had been spent. It would consequently be an irretrievable loss to the cause of religion.

Meanwhile, before the first Pontifical letters of August and September, 1822, had been delivered to Father Rosati, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda had taken another step, and had joined, temporarily, the two Floridas to the Vicariate. The Brief of January 21, 1823, informing the Vicar Apostolic-

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[35] MS. *Life* cited above, p. 22: "Vires meas tanto oneri impares sentiens ad Sac. Congregationem respondi ut alium eligere dignaretur." Bishop Rosati's *Diary*.

[36] MS. *Life*, *l. c.*

[37] *L. c.*; *Diary*.

[38] "Illmum D. Guillemum Du Bourg, Episcopum Neo-Aurelianensem, et Illmum D. B. J. Flaget Epum Bardensem impense rogavi ut me ab hac dignitate accipienda officiosis apud Summum Pontificem precibus liberarent." *Diary*.

elect of the new arrangement, recites the facts and motives as follows:[39]

> Whereas, according to the report made to Us, the two Floridas, Eastern and Western, in North America, which were first under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Santiago of Cuba, then were placed, by Consistorial Decree dated September 10, 1787, under that of the Bishop of St. Christopher of Havana, and finally were by Apostolic Letters of April 25, 1793, annexed to the Diocese of New Orleans under the Metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishop of San Domingo, are so far away from the City of St. Louis in Upper Louisiana where the Bishop of New Orleans has established his residence, that he is absolutely unable to take care of them, and therefore has resigned his right over them; lest the faithful residing in the Floridas should be deprived of spiritual help, We, by the advice of our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, have resolved to dismember from the Diocese of New Orleans the two Floridas and to unite and annex them provisionally to the recently created Vicariate Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama; and finally it being our wish that our Ven. Brother Joseph Rosati, recently elected Vicar Apostolic with Episcopal dignity and title of the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama, should have care and jurisdiction over the two Floridas as well, with all the Faculties enjoyed by the other Bishops of the United States; so, in virtue of our Apostolic authority by the tenor of the present letter We decree, this to stand until other provision shall be made by this Holy See.

This Brief—so we learn from Bishop Rosati's *Diary*—never reached its address.

For months the soul of Father Rosati chafed under the worry caused by this appointment. Finally, he resolved to take a radical step, bolder, indeed, than all the respectful remonstrances sent to Rome by his alarmed friends. One of the Italian priests of his Community, Father Philip Borgna, on account of persistent ill-health, was obliged to leave America and to return to his native land. Through him Father Rosati sent the Pontifical

[39] "Quum sicut Nobis relatum est duae Floridarum provinciae Orientalis nimirum et Occidentalis in America Septentrionali, quae primum Archiepiscopo S. Jacobi de Cuba deinde per Consistoriale Decretum die 10 Sepbris 1787 Episcopi S. Christophori de Avana in spiritualibus subjectae fuerunt, demum per litteras Apostolicas datas die 25 Aplis 1793 Neo-Aurelianensi Ecclesiae sub metropolitico Jure Archiepiscopi S. Dominici tam longe distent a civitate S. Ludovici in Luisiana Superiori, ubi Novae Aureliae Episcopus sedem statuit suam, ut ipsam Floridarum curam gerere nullo modo possit, eamque propterea sponte dimiserit, Nos ne fideles qui in Floridis versantur spiritualibus careant auxiliis, de Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S.R.E.

documents back to Propaganda, requesting him, moreover, to spare no effort to obtain the annulment of his appointment.[40] Such was also, no doubt, the object of a letter sent to the Sacred Congregation, mentioned in his *Diary* under the date of April 2, 1823. Communications in those times were slow between America and Europe, and even between the various parts of America, and the affair remained in the *statu quo* for several months.[41]

Archbishop Maréchal, Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Flaget had, meanwhile, carefully reviewed and sifted the whole matter, and their reports were unanimously against the erection of the new Vicariate Apostolic. These reports placed Propaganda in a rather embarrassing situation. The opinion of the American prelates was founded on a first-hand acquaintance with the conditions and needs of the country, and showed that the step had been taken somewhat too hastily. What had been done could naturally be undone, but what if Father Rosati had already received episcopal consecration? True, he had begged to have his appointment canceled; but he might quite possibly have been prevailed upon to submit.[42] Here was a Bishop, a Vicar Apostolic with a shadowy, impossible Vicariate—a very delicate and embarrassing situation indeed.

A happy *combinazione*, exhibiting once more the wonderful

Cardinalium Propagandae fidei praepositorum consilio ambas Floridarum provincias a Novae Aureliae Dioecesi distrahere easque per modum provisorium unire et adjungere Apostolico Vicariatui nuper erecto duorum confinium territoriorum Mississipii et Alabamae novissime volentes spiritualem curam et jurisdictionem Venerabili Fratri Josepho Rosati tamquam Vicario Apostolico non minus duorum Territoriorum Mississipii et Alabamae novissime electo cum caractere et titulo Episcopali quam utriusque Floridarum Provinciae cum facultatibus, quibus ceteri foederatarum Provinciarum Episcopi potiuntur, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium constituimus donec tamen per hanc S. Sedem aliter provideatur."

[40] He left America on April 10, 1823, and returned in March, 1825.

[41] It took usually about one month for letters to cover the distance between New Orleans and the "Barrens," and the same time was the minimum time between Baltimore and Missouri.

[42] The situation here described is that which existed in the spring of 1823: the Briefs had been expedited and received. Propaganda was in possession of Father Rosati's refusal and of the objections made by the American Bishops; but as Father Borgna arrived in Rome only in November, there was no certainty that Father Rosati had not changed his mind and received the consecration, as he was bidden to receive it, "as soon as possible."

resourcefulness of Roman diplomacy, was hit upon. Suppressing the impossible Vicariate, Propaganda fell back upon the old idea of dividing Louisiana; but, taught by experience, it carefully postponed taking definite measures for a period of three years, meantime appointing the Bishop-elect of Tenagra Coadjutor to the Bishop of New Orleans. The Brief sent to Father Rosati on July 14, 1823, by Pope Pius VII, is worth giving here:

> To our Beloved Son Joseph Rosati, Priest of the Cong. of the Mission, Bishop elect of Tenagra, POPE PIUS VII, Health and Apostolic Blessing.
>
> *Beloved Son,*
>
> Last year, by the report of the Secretary of the Congregation of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals deputed to the Propagation of the faith, We were made cognizant of the fact that the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama located in the United States of America, the spiritual care of which devolved upon the Archbishop of Baltimore, are so far distant from the Metropolitan See that the said Archbishop was not able to take care of them either by himself, or by our Ven. Brother Louis Bishop of New Orleans as his Vicar General, on account of the latter's residing in St. Louis in Upper Louisiana, that is, some five hundred leagues from the afore-mentioned Territories; and for this reason the Archbishop of Baltimore of his own accord resigned the spiritual administration of these Territories; whereupon We deemed it a duty of our Pastoral office to provide for the necessity of the faithful of those parts, and accordingly appointed you, by Apostolic Brief dated August 18, 1822, Vicar Apostolic with the dignity and title of Bishop of Tenagra for the two above-mentioned Territories; finally, as the aforesaid Bishop of New Orleans, owing likewise to distances, could not in any way take care of the Floridas, and in consequence resigned of his own accord this charge, We, dismembering these two provinces from the Diocese of New Orleans, joined them temporarily and until other provision should be made by this Holy See to the aforesaid Vicariate Apostolic by another Brief dated January 21 of the present year.
>
> But now a recent report of the Secretary of the same Congregation based upon a letter of the Bishop of New Orleans has apprized Us of the fact that the establishment of the above-mentioned Vicariate and the union thereto of the Floridas made later, as well as your designation for that Vicariate are not only purposeless, owing to the small numbers of Catholics in the countries forming it, not only inopportune because these countries are utterly unable to support a Bishop, but also your very appointment will be a calamity for the cause of Religion in all Louisiana, for your departure from Louisiana will strike the death-blow, it is asserted, and to the house of the Congregation of the Mission recently erected and working so usefully in Louisiana, and to the Ecclesiastical

Seminary, and finally to the College founded for the education of young men in Religion and in the liberal Arts, as you are the only person, on account of the scarcity and youth of the sacred ministers residing in those parts, who can usefully be at the head of these establishments.

After mature consideration of all the above, and by the advice of our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, for the greater good of Religion and of the faithful, We deem it advisable to change our decision.

Therefore, the afore-mentioned Apostolic Letters whereby We made you Vicar Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama in the United States, and added to it the Floridas dismembered from the Diocese of New Orleans, and elected you Vicar Apostolic, We, in virtue of the Apostolic authority, by the tenor of these presents cancel and abrogate; and thus. as We had elected you Bishop of Tenagra as per our former Apostolic letter of August 13, 1822, and as you now have possibly received already Episcopal Consecration, cancelling likewise your appointment as Vicar Apostolic, We designate you to aid the Bishop of New Orleans in the administration of his Diocese in quality of his Coadjutor; the following, however, being understood both by you and by that Bishop: Louisiana shall be divided into two Episcopal Sees within three years; if, which may God avert! the Bishop of New Orleans should depart this life before the division be made, you shall at first take the administration of the whole of Louisiana; then, when the division will be made, you shall have the government of only one of these two Sees, and the other shall be turned over to the person designated by the Apostolic See.

If, on the other hand, the division of Louisiana is carried to execution during the life-time of the Bishop of New Orleans, which We heartily beg of the Lord, then our wish is that you, resigning at once your office of Coadjutor, should be by Apostolic letters then to be written created Bishop of that one of the two Sees which the Bishop of New Orleans will not take for himself.

We ordain, moreover, in the name of holy obedience, to all and every one whom it may now or eventually concern, that they receive you in quality of Coadjutor; and if the division of Louisiana is not consummated during the life-time of the Bishop of New Orleans, then immediately after his demise in quality of spiritual head of the whole Louisiana, according to the tenor of these presents; and that they be subject to you and obey you and receive your salutary advice and your commands reverently and fulfill them effectually; otherwise every sentence and penalty which you will decree lawfully against the contumacious We shall uphold, and shall inviolably procure its execution by the authority communicated to Us by the Lord, until condign satisfaction be obtained.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, on July 14, 1823.

H. Card. Consalvi.

This third Brief reached the "Barrens" on December 4. It did not come altogether unexpected, for both Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Flaget, when acquainting Father Rosati with the purport of their letters to Rome, observed that they expected little success; and they made it clear to him that it was his duty to resist no longer. From Rome, Father Baccari had insisted to the same effect. Two days later, on December 6, the Bishop-elect wrote to Propaganda that he had now resigned himself to the inevitable, and accordingly would receive episcopal consecration as directed, as soon as possible.[43] The promptness of his answer was no sign that he penned this letter with a light heart: it was the promptness of obedience, regardless of the cost. The following extract from a letter to his brother, written on the same day, speaks for itself:[44]

> Concerning myself I shall tell you, that, to my great displeasure, I received the day before yesterday certain letters of the S. C. of Propaganda, with a Pontifical Brief, containing my appointment as Coadjutor to the Right Rev. Bishop of Louisiana. I wrote to you some time ago that last year I had been elected Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Tenagra (*in partibus*); I refused to accept. My refusal has been taken into consideration in so far as the Vicariate Apostolic is concerned; but instead I have been elected Coadjutor to Bishop Du Bourg. I confess to you that that burden affrights me. But I find myself in the necessity of refusing no longer, as this was made to me a grave duty of conscience by our Bishop and by others whom I consulted. I must therefore submit.

It would seem that after sending the Brief of July 14, 1823, Rome still entertained some misgivings as to whether Father Rosati would really submit this time. Father Borgna reached Rome in the first days of November. Since leaving America on April 10, he had had ample time to make reflections, and he had come to the conclusion that the good of religion in America imposed upon him the duty of disregarding the wishes of his Superior, and of urging strongly Father Rosati's appointment.

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[43] "Summi Pontificis Sacraeque Congregationis voluntati, ex nostri Vicarii Generalis, et Illmorum ac Rmorum Neo-Aurelianensis ac Bardensis Episcoporum consilio resistere non audens, eidem S. C., litteris diei 6 Decembris 1823 meum assensum significavi, una cum proposito consecrationem Episcopalem quam citius recipiendi." *Diary.*

[44] *Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M., Rome.* Letters to Nicola Rosati, December 6, 1823.

Accordingly he allowed himself no rest until he was sure he had won his point. In November, 1823, Propaganda sent back to Father Rosati the Brief of August 13, 1822, brought by Father Borgna, and accompanied it with a letter appealing to the appointee's sense of obedience.[45] This appeal was now purposeless, as has been seen: so prompt had been the obedience of Father Rosati that he allowed no time to elapse before corresponding with Bishop Du Bourg in regard to the time and place most suitable for the Consecration.

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Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis.

(To be continued)

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[45] "Cum Apostolicas litteras diei 13 Augusti 1822 Romam remisissem Sacra Congregatio eas ad me secundo transmisit una cum novis litteris datis die 22. Novembris 1823, commendans ut Sedis Apostolicae voluntati parerem." *Diary.*

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

IX. THE PROVINCE OF PHILADELPHIA (1808–1875)

When the Diocese of Philadelphia was erected, April 8, 1808, it embraced the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware and that part of New Jersey once known as West Jersey. The Second Provincial Council, in 1833, described this territory as being the counties named: Hunterdon, Warren, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May. New Jersey was detached in 1853 to become a part of the Diocese of Newark, and Delaware in 1868 to be a part of the Diocese of Wilmington. By successive divisions, the Diocese of Pittsburgh, 1843; Erie, 1853; Harrisburg and Scranton, 1868; and Altoona, 1901, have been erected, and the Diocese of Philadelphia has been restricted to a few counties in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania with an area of 5,043 miles. According to the *Laity's Directory* of 1822, there were in Philadelphia "four churches: St. Mary's, which is called the Cathedral, St. Augustine's, Holy Trinity for the Germans, and St. Joseph's." In the rest of the Diocese were eleven churches at Lancaster, Conewago, Reading, Carlisle, Chambersburg, Loretto, Greenburgh, Pittsburgh and Goshenhoppen in Pennsylvania and at Wilmington in Delaware and Trenton in New Jersey. It is now one of the largest and strongest Dioceses in the country with 726 priests, 328 churches, 145 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 700,000. The Province was erected by Pope Pius IX, February 12, 1875, and embraces the State of Pennsylvania.[2]

1. PHILADELPHIA (1808)

1. The first Bishop of Philadelphia was the Right Rev. **Michael Egan.** He was born and educated in Ireland, joined the Franciscan Order, and was at one time Guardian of the Franciscan Convent of St. Isidore in Rome. He came to the United States in 1802 and was stationed in Philadelphia when he was made Bishop. Although appointed in 1808, his Bulls did not arrive until 1810, and he was consecrated, October 28 of that year. He died, July 22, 1814.

2. The Diocese of Philadelphia was administered by the Very Rev. Louis De Barth from the death of Bishop Egan until 1820, when the Right Rev.

[1] V. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 367–390; Vol. ii, pp. 127–146, 283–302.

[2] The statistics have been taken in this article from the *Catholic Directory* of 1917

Henry Conwell, who was already seventy-three years old, was made the second Bishop. He was consecrated in London, England, August 24, 1820. His troubles are a sad part of the history of the Diocese. He died, April 22, 1842, aged 94 years.

3. In the meantime the Holy See relieved Bishop Conwell of the administration of the Diocese, which was placed in the hands of the Very Rev. William Matthews as Vicar General Apostolic, until the appointment of the Right Rev. **Francis Patrick Kenrick** as Coadjutor and Administrator. He was born December 3, 1796; was ordained at Rome, April 7, 1821; was consecrated titular Bishop of Arath, June 6, 1830; became Bishop of Philadelphia, April 22, 1843, and Archbishop of Baltimore, August 19, 1851. He died, July 8, 1863.

4. The Venerable **John Nepomucene Neumann** was born in Bohemia, March 20, 1811, and was ordained at New York by Bishop Dubois, June 25, 1836. He associated himself with the Redemptorists in 1840 and was professed in 1842. He was pastor of St. Alphonsus Church in Baltimore when appointed Bishop of Philadelphia, and was consecrated there, March 20, 1852. He died suddenly on the street, January 5, 1860. The Holy See has permitted the introduction of the process of his canonization. Hence his title of Venerable.

5. The Most Rev. **James Frederick Wood**, fifth Bishop and first Archbishop of Philadelphia, was born in that city, April 27, 1813. He became a Catholic in 1838 and was ordained at the Propaganda in Rome, March 25, 1844. He was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Neumann and consecrated titular Bishop of Antigone, April 26, 1857; became Bishop of Philadelphia, January 5, 1860, and Archbishop, February 12, 1875. He died, June 20, 1883.

6. The Most Rev. **Patrick John Ryan** was born at Thurles, County Tipperary, Ireland, February 20, 1831. He came to the United States in 1852 and was ordained at St. Louis, September 8, 1853. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Tricomia and Coadjutor of St. Louis, February 14, 1872, was made titular Archbishop of Salamis, January 6, 1884, and transferred to Philadelphia, June 8, 1884. He died, February 11, 1911, being within a few days of 80 years of age.

7. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. **Edmond F. Prendergast**, born at Clonmel, Ireland, May 3, 1843, and ordained, November 17, 1865. He was made titular Bishop of Scillio, November 27, 1896, and Auxiliary of Philadelphia and was consecrated, February 24, 1897. He became Archbishop of Philadelphia, May 9, 1911.

The Right Rev. **John J. McCort**, born at Philadelphia, February 16, 1860, was appointed titular Bishop of Azotus and Auxiliary, June 28, 1912, and was consecrated, September 17, 1912.

2. PITTSBURGH (1843)

The great pioneer in missionary work in western Pennsylvania was the Rev. Demetrius Gallitzin, whom Bishop Conwell designated as his Vicar General in that region. Later on Bishop Kenrick urged the erection of a Diocese at Pittsburgh and

offered himself to undertake the organization of it. He sent the Rev. Michael O'Connor as Vicar General to prepare the way, and finally, at the earnest request of the bishops of the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, Pope Gregory XVI erected the Diocese, August 8, 1843, as a Suffragan of Baltimore. It embraced the whole of western Pennsylvania until the Diocese of Erie was erected in 1853. At present it comprises ten counties of the State with an area of 7,238 square miles and has 552 priests, 352 churches, 87 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 550,000.

1. The Right Rev. **Michael O'Connor** was made the first bishop. He was born in County Cork, Ireland, September 27, 1810. Entering the Propaganda College, he was ordained at Rome, June 1, 1833. He was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, August 15, 1843. When the Diocese of Erie was erected in 1853, Bishop O'Connor was transferred to the new see. This arrangement was not permanent and he was sent back to Pittsburgh. His resignation was finally accepted, May 23, 1860, and he became a Jesuit in fulfilment of a desire of many years, retired to Woodstock, Maryland, the Jesuit House of Studies, and died there, October 18, 1872.

The *Metropolitan* in June, 1857, announced the appointment of Rev. **John B. Byrne,** Pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Washington, D. C., as Coadjutor of Pittsburgh. Dr. Byrne was presented by Bishop O'Connor to the congregation of the Pittsburgh Cathedral on Sunday, October 11, 1857, and preached on the occasion. He was, however, never consecrated.

2. The second Bishop of Pittsburgh was the Right Rev. **Michael Domenec,** a Lazarist, born in Spain, December 27, 1816. He came to the United States in 1838 and was ordained at St. Louis, June 29, 1839. He was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, December 9, 1860. In 1876 the Diocese was divided and a new Diocese was erected at Alleghany, to which Bishop Domenec was transferred. This Diocese he resigned, July 27, 1877, and returned to Spain, where he died, January 7, 1878.

3. The Right Rev. **John Tuigg,** born in County Cork, Ireland, February 19, 1821, and ordained May 14, 1850, was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, March 19, 1876. After the resignation of Bishop Domenec, the administration of the Diocese of Allegheny was committed to Bishop Tuigg. He died, December 7, 1889.

4. The Right Rev. **Richard Phelan** was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Tuigg, May 15, 1885. He was born in County Kilkenny, Ireland, January 1, 1828, and was ordained, May 4, 1854. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Cibyra, August 2, 1885. By a Bull of July 1, 1889, the See of Allegheny was suppressed and when Bishop Tuigg died, December 7, 1889, Bishop Phelan became Bishop of Pittsburgh, which was declared to embrace all the territory of the two Dioceses, as if no division had been made. He died, December 20, 1904.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **J. F. Regis Canevin,** born in

1853. He was appointed titular Bishop of Sabrata, and Coadjutor, December 24, 1902, and was consecrated, February 24, 1903. He became Bishop of Pittsburgh, December 20, 1904.

3. ERIE (1853)

The Diocese of Erie was erected, July 29, 1853, and to it were assigned thirteen counties of northwestern Pennsylvania, an area of 9,936 square miles. Bishop O'Connor, of Pittsburgh, was transferred to the new Diocese, but as the Right Rev. J. M. Young absolutely declined to accept Pittsburgh, Bishop O'Connor was, after five months, sent back, and the

1. Right Rev. **Josue M. Young** was made second Bishop of Erie. He was born in Maine, October 28, 1808, became a Catholic in 1828 and was ordained, April 1, 1838. He was consecrated, April 23, 1854, and died, September 18, 1866.

2. His successor was the Right Rev. **Tobias Mullen**, born in County Tyrone, Ireland, March 4, 1818, and ordained at Pittsburgh, September 1, 1844. He was consecrated, August 2, 1868. He resigned, August 10, 1899, and was made titular Bishop of Germanicopolis. He died, April 22, 1900.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **John E. Fitzmaurice**, born in Ireland, January 8, 1837, and ordained, December 21, 1862. He was made titular Bishop of Amisus, December 8, 1897, and Coadjutor of Erie. He was consecrated, February 24, 1898, and became Bishop of Erie, September 18, 1899.

The Diocese at the present time has 179 priests, 160 churches, 39 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 125,000.

4. HARRISBURG (1868)

The Diocese of Harrisburg was erected by Pope Pius IX, March 3, 1868. It originally comprised fifteen counties in the southern part of Pennsylvania. Two of these counties were cut off when Altoona was made a Diocese in 1910. The present area is 8,000 square miles. It has, in 1917, 113 priests, 86 churches and missions and a Catholic population of 85,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Jeremiah F. Shanahan**, born in Pennsylvania, July 13, 1834, and ordained, July 3, 1859. He was President of the Philadelphia Preparatory Seminary when appointed Bishop of Harrisburg. He was consecrated, July 12, 1868, and died, September 24, 1886.

2. His successor was the Right Rev. **Thomas McGovern**, born in County Cavan, Ireland, in 1832, and ordained, December 27, 1861. He was consecrated, March 11, 1888, and died, July 25, 1898.

3. The third bishop was the Right Rev. **John W. Shanahan**, a brother of

the first bishop. He was born, January 3, 1846, and ordained, January 2, 1869. He was appointed, January 2, 1899, and was consecrated, May 1, 1899. He died, January 19, 1916.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Philip R. McDevitt,** born at Philadelphia, July 12, 1858, and ordained also at Philadelphia, July 14, 1885. He was Superintendent of the Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese when he was appointed, July 10, 1916, Bishop of Harrisburg. He was consecrated, September 21, 1916.

5. SCRANTON (1868)

The Diocese of Scranton was erected, March 3, 1868. It comprises eleven counties of northeastern Pennsylvania, with an area of 8,487 square miles, and has 277 priests, 231 churches, 17 stations and a Catholic population of 278,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **William O'Hara,** born in Ireland, April 14, 1816, and ordained at Rome, December 21, 1842. He was consecrated, July 12, 1868, together with Bishop Shanahan, of Harrisburg. He died, February 3, 1899.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Michael John Hoban,** born in New Jersey, June 6, 1853, and ordained at Rome, May 22, 1880. He was made titular Bishop of Alalis and Coadjutor of Scranton, February 1, 1896, and was consecrated, March 22, 1896. He became Bishop of Scranton, February 3, 1899.

6. ALTOONA (1901)

The Diocese of Altoona was erected by Pope Leo XIII, May 30, 1901. It comprises eight counties of central Pennsylvania, detached from the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, with an area of 6,710 square miles. It has 129 priests, 108 churches, 42 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 127,000.

1. The first and present bishop is the Right Rev. **Eugene A. Garvey,** born at Carbondale, Pennsylvania, October 6, 1845, and ordained, September 22, 1869. He was appointed, May 31, 1901, and was consecrated, September 8, 1901.

X. THE PROVINCE OF MILWAUKEE (1843–1875)

The missionaries, who labored in the region now embraced by the Province of Milwaukee, were subject to the Bishop of Quebec. After the final adjustment of boundaries between Canada and the United States it came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore. It was afterwards successively under the care of the Bishops of Bardstown, Cincinnati and Detroit, until November 28, 1843, when Pope Gregory XVI erected the Diocese of Milwaukee, assigning as its limits the region now

included in the State of Wisconsin and the part of Minnesota which lies east of the Mississippi, which was at that time known as Wisconsin Territory. At present it is limited to seventeen counties in the southeastern part of Wisconsin, an area of 9,321 square miles, and has 427 priests, 297 churches and 41 chapels, and a Catholic population of 265,000. Milwaukee was made an Archdiocese by Pope Pius IX, July 12, 1875, and its Province embraces the State of Wisconsin and the northern peninsula of Michigan with the Sees of Green Bay, La Crosse and Superior, in Wisconsin, and Marquette in Michigan.[3]

1. MILWAUKEE (1843)

1. The first Bishop of Milwaukee was the Most Rev. **John Martin Henni,** who was born in Switzerland, June 13, 1805. He came to America in 1828 and was ordained at Cincinnati, February 2, 1829. He was consecrated Bishop of Milwaukee, March 19, 1844, became the first Archbishop in 1875 and died, September 7, 1881.

2. The Most Rev. **Michael Heiss** was born in Bavaria, April 12, 1818, and was ordained, October 18, 1840. He was consecrated Bishop of La Crosse, September 6, 1868, became titular Archbishop of Adrianople and Coadjutor of Milwaukee, March 14, 1880, Archbishop of Milwaukee, September 7, 1881, and died, March 26, 1890.

3. The Most Rev. **Frederick Xavier Katzer** was born in Austria, February 7, 1844. He came to America in 1864 and was ordained, December 21, 1866. He was consecrated Bishop of Green Bay, September 21, 1866, became Archbishop of Milwaukee, January 30, 1891, and died, July 20, 1903.

4. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. **Sebastian Gebhard Messmer,** born in Switzerland, August 29, 1847. He was ordained at Innsbruck, July 23, 1871, and came to America the same year. He was Professor of Canon Law in the Catholic University of America when he was appointed Bishop of Green Bay, December 14, 1891. He was consecrated, March 27, 1892, and became Archbishop of Milwaukee, November 28, 1903.

The Right Rev. Edward Kozlowski, ordained June 29, 1887, was appointed titular Bishop of Germe and Auxiliary of Milwaukee, January 14, 1914. He died August 7, 1915.

2. SAULT SAINTE MARIE AND MARQUETTE (1853-1857)

The history of the Diocese of Marquette leads back to the missionary work of the early Jesuits in 1641. Originally in the

[3] The *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, Vol. 2 (June, 1843), p. 381, has the following statement about Milwaukee: "Milwaukie (sic), Wisconsin Territory, which will probably be in some future time an Episcopal see, now contains nearly four thousand inhabitants and was increased by 250 dwellings last year, while 350 to 400 will go up this year. Eight years ago the *first* frame house was erected there. During 1842 there were 250 arrivals of steamboats and 1,250 of sailing vessels."

jurisdiction of Quebec, the region came under the care of Archbishop Carroll when the English finally turned it over to the United States. It was successively a part of the Dioceses of Bardstown, of Cincinnati and of Detroit, until in 1852 the bishops of the First National Council recommended that Upper Michigan should be made a Vicariate Apostolic. By a brief of July 29, 1853, Pope Pius IX separated the territory from the Diocese of Detroit and appointed as the Vicar Apostolic:

1. The Right Rev. **Frederic Baraga**, born in Austria, June 29, 1798. He was ordained, September 21, 1823, and came to America in 1831. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Amyzonia, November 1, 1853. The Vicariate was erected into the Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie, January 9, 1857. Later, in 1865, the Bishop was permitted to change his residence to Marquette and the Diocese is now known as the Diocese of Marquette. Bishop Baraga died, January 19, 1868, and was succeeded by

2. The Right Rev. **Ignatius Mrak**, also an Austrian, born October 17, 1810, and ordained, July 31, 1837, who was consecrated, February 7, 1869. He resigned in 1878 and was made titular Bishop of Antinoe and died, January 2, 1901.

3. The third bishop was the Right Rev. **John Vertin**, born in Austria, February 17, 1844, and ordained at Marquette, August 31, 1866. He was consecrated, September 14, 1879, and died, February 26, 1899.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Frederick Eis.** He was born in Germany, January 20, 1843, came to America in 1855 and was ordained, October 30, 1870. He was appointed, June 7, 1899, and was consecrated August 24, 1899.

Marquette has, in 1906, 100 priests, 129 churches, 83 stations and chapels, with a Catholic population of 97,000.

3. GREEN BAY (1868)

The Diocese of Green Bay was erected March 3, 1868, by a division of the Diocese of Milwaukee. It comprises sixteen counties of Wisconsin with an area of 11,583 square miles and has, in 1917, 228 priests, 230 churches, and a Catholic population of 149,299.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. **Joseph Melcher**, born at Vienna, Austria, March 19, 1806, and ordained, March 12, 1830. He was consecrated, July 12, 1868, and died, December 20, 1873, aged 68 years.

2. The Right Rev. **Francis Xavier Krautbauer**, born January 12, 1824, and ordained, July 16, 1850, was the second bishop. He was consecrated, June 29, 1875, and died, December 17, 1885.

3. The third bishop, the Right Rev. **Frederick Xavier Katzer**, was translated, January 30, 1891, to Milwaukee.

4. The fourth bishop, the Right Rev. **Sebastian Gebhard Messmer**, is the present Archbishop of Milwaukee.

5. The Right Rev. **Joseph John Fox,** born in Green Bay, August 2, 1855, and ordained, June 7, 1879, was appointed Bishop, May 16, 1904. He resigned, December 4, 1914, and was made titular Bishop of Jonopolis. He died, a few months afterwards, March 14, 1915.

6. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Paul L. Rhode,** born at Wegorowo (Neustadt), Prussian Poland, September 18, 1871, and ordained June 17, 1894. He was appointed titular Bishop of Barca and Auxiliary of Chicago, May 22, 1908, and was consecrated, July 29, 1908. He became Bishop of Green Bay, July 5, 1915.

4. LA CROSSE (1868)

The Diocese of La Crosse was erected, March 3, 1868, at the same time as Green Bay and originally included that part of Wisconsin north and west of the Wisconsin River. Since the erection of the Diocese of Superior in 1905, it comprises twenty-two counties of the State, with an area of 17,299 square miles. It has, in 1917, 216 priests, 228 churches, 23 chapels and a Catholic population of 118,500.

1. The first bishop, the Right Rev. **Michael Heiss,** became the second Archbishop of Milwaukee.

2. The second bishop, the Right Rev. **Kilian Caspar Flasch,** was born in Bavaria, July 16, 1837. He came to America when 10 years of age and was ordained, September 16, 1859. He was consecrated, August 24, 1881, and died, August 3, 1891.

3. The present bishop, the Right Rev. **James Schwebach,** was born in Luxemburg, August 15, 1847, came to America in 1864 and was ordained, June 16, 1870. He was appointed, December 14, 1891, and was consecrated, February 25, 1892.

5. SUPERIOR (1905)

The Diocese of Superior was erected by Pope Pius X, May 3, 1905, by a division of the Dioceses of Green Bay and La Crosse. It comprises sixteen counties in the northern part of Wisconsin with an area of 15,715 square miles, and has, in 1917, 93 priests, 136 churches, 25 chapels and stations, and a Catholic population of 54,058, of which 3,058 are Indians.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Augustine Francis Schinner,** born in Milwaukee, May 1, 1863, and ordained, March 7, 1886. He was appointed, May 13, 1905, and was consecrated, July 25, 1905. He resigned, January 15, 1913, and was appointed Bishop of Spokane, March 18, 1914.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Joseph M. Koudelka,** born in Ohio, December 8, 1852, and ordained, October 8, 1875. He was appointed titular Bishop of Germanicopolis and Auxiliary of Cleveland, November 29, 1907, and was consecrated, February 25, 1908. He became Auxiliary of Milwaukee, September 4, 1911, and was appointed Bishop of Superior, August 6, 1913.

XI. THE PROVINCE OF SANTA FE (1850–1875)

"When the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo added to the United States New Mexico and California, the American Hierarchy felt the necessity urgent for some action on the part of the Holy See, to preserve religion in those parts. Nothing was known of the zeal and efforts of Bishop Zubiria (of Durango, Mexico), so that no plan was concerted with him. The Holy See erected New Mexico into a Vicariate Apostolic and appointed to the task the Rev. John B. Lamy, an able and laborious priest of the Diocese of Cincinnati." As the Diocese of Durango in Mexico to which the territory up to that time belonged had not been canonically divided, the clergy were not disposed to acknowledge the authority of Bishop Lamy. He "to adjust this point set out on horseback with a guide for Durango. Bishop Zubiria received him in holy friendship and resigned to him all jurisdiction over the American portion of his Diocese."[4]

The Vicariate of New Mexico, as thus established in 1850, comprised the whole of what is now New Mexico and Arizona and Colorado. At present, the Diocese of Santa Fe comprises the State of New Mexico with the exception of a few counties, which belonged to the Diocese of Tucson until 1914, when they were included in the new Diocese of El Paso. Its area is 104,168 square miles and in 1917 it has 87 priests, 45 churches with resident priests, 300 missions with churches, 126 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 140,573, of which 20,573 are Pueblo Indians. The Province includes the States of New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona and a part of Texas. The Suffragans are Denver, Tucson and El Paso.

1. SANTA FE (1850)

1. The Most Rev. **John B. Lamy**, Vicar Apostolic of New Mexico and first Bishop and Archbishop of Santa Fe, was born in France, October 11, 1814. He was ordained, December 22, 1838, and came to America with Bishop Purcell in 1839. He was consecrated, November 24, 1850. The Holy See, July 29, 1853, made a formal division of the Diocese of Durango, and erected the Vicariate of New Mexico into the Diocese of Santa Fe, and Bishop Lamy became its first bishop. He became Archbishop of Santa Fe in 1875, resigned July 18, 1885, was made titular Archbishop of Cyzicus and died, February 13, 1888.

2. The second Archbishop was the Most Rev. **John B. Salpointe**, consecrated titular Bishop of Dorylaeum and Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, June 20, 1869. He was made Coadjutor of Santa Fe, April 22, 1884, was

[4] For a sketch of the early history of the Church in New Mexico, see SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 293.

promoted to the titular Archbishopric of Anazarba, October 11, 1884, and became Archbishop of Santa Fe, July 18, 1885. He resigned, January 7, 1894, anh was made titular Archbishop of Tomi. He died, July 15, 1898.

3. The third Archbishop was the Most Rev. **Placidus L. Chapelle,** who became Archbishop of New Orleans in 1897 and was succeeded by

4. The Most Rev. **Peter Bourgade,** who was consecrated titular Bishop of Thaumacum and Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, May 1, 1885, became Bishop of Tucson, May 8, 1897, and was transferred to Santa Fe, January 7, 1899. He died, May 17, 1908.

5. The present Archbishop, the Most Rev. **John Baptist Pitaval,** was born in France, February 10, 1858, and was ordained, December 24, 1881. He was appointed titular Bishop of Sora and Auxiliary of Santa Fe, May 15, 1902, and was consecrated, July 25, 1902. He became Archbishop of Santa Fe, January 3, 1909.

2. DENVER (1868-1887)

The Diocese of Denver comprises the State of Colorado, an area of 103,645 square miles. The first civilized settlement within its borders was made in 1852 and the first church was built in 1858. The territory was originally included in the jurisdiction of Bishop Miege of Indian Territory, who secured the transfer of these distant missions to the Diocese of Santa Fe. In 1860 Bishop Lamy sent the Very Rev. Joseph Machebeuf to Colorado as Vicar General. In 1868, upon the recommendation of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, Pope Pius IX erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Colorado and Utah,

1. And the Right Rev. **Joseph Projectus Machebeuf** was appointed Vicar Apostolic and was consecrated titular Bishop of Epiphania, August 16, 1868. He was born in France, August 11, 1812, and was ordained, December 21, 1836. The Diocese of Denver was erected, August 16, 1887, and he became its first bishop. He died, July 10, 1889.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. **Nicholas Chrysostom Matz,** born in Lorraine, France, April 6, 1850, and ordained at Denver, May 31, 1874. He was appointed titular Bishop of Telmesso and Coadjutor, August 19, 1887, and was consecrated, October 28, 1887. He became Bishop of Denver, July 10, 1889.

The Diocese, in 1917, has 174 priests, 221 churches and a Catholic population of 110,987.

3. TUCSON (1868)

The region now included in the Diocese of Tucson was a part of the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States in

1848 and 1853. Before the cession it belonged to the Mexican Diocese of Durango and afterwards to the Vicariate Apostolic of New Mexico and the Diocese of Santa Fe. The Territory of Arizona was organized in 1863, and it was detached from Santa Fe and made a Vicariate Apostolic by Pope Pius IX, March 3, 1868, and was erected into the Diocese of Tucson by Pope Leo XIII, May 8, 1897. It originally covered the State of Arizona and a part of New Mexico. The New Mexico counties were made a part of the new Diocese of El Paso in 1914. The Diocese is now coterminous with the State, an area of 133,058 square miles. It has, in 1917, 61 priests, 76 churches, 80 stations and a Catholic population of 45,000.

1. The first Vicar Apostolic was the Most Rev. **John B. Salpointe**, consecrated titular Bishop of Dorylaeum, June 20, 1869. He became Archbishop of Santa Fe in 1884 and died, July 15, 1898. (*See* Santa Fe.)

2. The Most Rev. **Peter Bourgade** was consecrated, May 1, 1885, titular Bishop of Thaumacum and Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, became first Bishop of Tucson, May 8, 1897, and Archbishop of Santa Fe, January 7, 1899. (*See* Santa Fe.)

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Henry Granjon**, born in France, June 15, 1863, and ordained, December 17, 1887. He was consecrated, June 17, 1900.

4. EL PASO (1914)

The Diocese of El Paso was erected by Pope Pius X, March 3, 1914. It comprises fifteen counties of Texas and five counties and part of a sixth in New Mexico. The New Mexico part was cut off from the Diocese of Tucson, the Texan portion from the Dioceses of San Antonio and Dallas. It has been made Suffragan to Santa Fe. The *Catholic Directory* of 1917 gives it 47 priests, 78 churches, 35 stations, and a Catholic population of 81,290.

1. The Holy See at first chose the Rev. **John J. Brown**, S.J., to preside over the Diocese, but he was allowed to decline and the Right Rev. **Anthony J. Schuler**, S.J., born, September 20, 1869, and ordained, June 27, 1901, was appointed first bishop of El Paso, June 17, 1915. He was consecrated, October 28, 1915.

RIGHT REVEREND OWEN B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore.

(*To be continued*)

NEGRO CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Numerous books are constantly being issued from the press dealing with the history and the present and future condition of the Negro. Some of these have been written by negro scholars; others, in a more or less impartial manner, by whites; while others still, writing in an unfriendly spirit, place the black race in an unfavorable light. A recent French book by an American writer purports to give a review of the conditions surrounding the negro race in America; and in considering his religious state, the author gives some space to the work done by Catholics for the colored people.[1] From a perusal of the writer's reflections, it becomes apparent that he has hardly grasped the full extent of the subject and of the work done. He seems rather unfamiliar with the problems and difficulties of Catholic Mission work among the colored people. Furthermore, he does an injustice to the missionaries and religious communities now in the field in claiming that their work has been a failure and that certain ones among them are gradually withdrawing from the work. Any impartial investigation of the subject will prove that the facts are almost wholly different.

The Negro has been a factor in American history from the very beginning. Spaniards were the earliest explorers and colonists of what is now the southern portion of the United States. In their expeditions they were accompanied by Negroes in the capacity of servants and slaves, since at that time Negro slavery was permitted by the law of nations. The earliest Spanish colonies of what is now the United States were not successful, and the advent of the Negroes was therefore only transient. They either returned to Spanish America or perished in the failure of the colonies. St. Augustine, Florida, was an exception. African slaves were with the expedition of Hernando de Soto. Probably the first Negroes to set foot on the soil of the United States were those who landed with the Spanish settlers at Chicora, in 1526, on what is now the coast of South Carolina. Negroes accompanied the colonizing expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon at the founding of the settlement at Guandape,

[1] Warrington Dawson, *Le Nègre aux Etats-Unis*. Paris, 1912.

in 1526, near the site where eighty-one years later the English built Jamestown. The unfortunate expedition, led by Panfilo de Narvaez, in 1528, had with it the Negro slave Estevan or Stephen. Narvaez perished in the waters of the lower Mississippi; and Stephen with three other survivors, after years of suffering and wandering across what is now the southeastern part of the United States, reached Petatlan in Sinaloa in 1536.[2] Stephen's later adventures and death at the hands of Zuni Indians form an interesting episode in the early history of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. In 1539, Father Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan Friar, set out from San Miguel de Culuacan in Mexico, on a missionary journey to the northward in order to visit and to labor for the conversion of the tribes, the members of which, he had been informed, "dwelt in many large towns and were clothed in cotton dresses and had vessels of gold." The missionary was accompanied by the Negro Stephen and some Indians. They tarried at Vacapa to spend Holy Week. There Father Marcos sent Stephen to the north with instructions that if he found any important place, he was to send back a cross by the Indians, its size to be in proportion to the greatness of the town he might discover. In a few days, messengers came from Stephen announcing that, thirty days' march beyond the point he had reached, there was a province called Cibola, in which were seven large cities under one great lord. The houses were of stone, three and four stories in height; the people were well clothed and rich in turquoises. After waiting for the return of his Indian messengers and receiving confirmation of the seven cities, Father Marcos left Vacapa on Tuesday of Easter week, being urged by fresh messengers from Stephen to come with all speed. He travelled for many days, meeting Indians constantly. Encouraged by tidings from Stephen, he came to a desert which was fifteen days march from Cibola. Accompanied by many Indians, he began to cross the desert on May ninth, and travelled on till the twenty-first, when a messenger came in terror and spent with fatigue, bear-

[2] JOHN GILMARY SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 110. New York, 1886. The Southern Historical Publication Society: *The South in the Building of the Nation*, Vol. ii, pp. 1–2. Richmond, Va., 1909. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. i, p. 88, New York, 1909, citing the Spanish historian Oviedo.

ing a tale of disaster. Stephen, when within a day's march of Cibola, had sent the chief some tokens of his coming, but the Indians refused to receive them, and threatened to kill him if he came. Stephen persisted and reached Cibola. He was not allowed to enter but was placed in a house without the town, and the next day he and his Indian companions were put to death. Father Marcos, though in great danger, resolved to push on, at least to see the town, hoping to rescue any survivors. He declared that he came in sight of Cibola, and planted a cross to take possession of the country. He then returned and made a report of the expedition to the viceroy, who transmitted it to the king.[3] It seems, therefore, that the Negro Stephen was the first member of the Spanish exploring companies to traverse the territory of the present States of Arizona and New Mexico.

The number of Negroes in the United States, previous to the beginning of the seventeenth century, was comparatively small. The real growth of the Negro population in the colonies began with the slave trade. Negro slavery had long existed in the Old World and took its rise in the States when, in 1619, a Dutch slave ship landed twenty Negroes at the new settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia. From this time an increasing number of Negro slaves was brought from Africa to the various colonies on the Atlantic sea-board from Massachusetts to Louisiana. It is especially in the eighteenth century, when there was a demand for laborers, that an impetus was given to the importation of slaves. In the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth, a remarkable series of mechanical inventions revolutionized the methods of making cloth from cotton fiber. This created a demand for slave labor on the plantations of the Southern States. To supply slaves from Africa, colonial vessels, chiefly owned in New England and New York, were engaged in the traffic. Some slaves were used in the North, chiefly as servants, but it was especially in the Southern States that large numbers were employed.

At the time of the Revolution, the Negro population was about one-sixth of the whole. There was both a slavery and anti-slavery sentiment in the colonies. It is interesting to study the

[3] Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–117. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M., *The Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 12–13. Harbor Springs, Mich., 1899.

attitude of the framers of the Declaration of Independence, when they said that "All men are created equal." They had in mind those who had a share in the government, but some Negroes had the requisite property qualifications, and were voters in States both North and South.[4] After the Revolution, abolition societies were formed in various northern communities and laws were enacted to promote the freedom of the slaves. Congress and Federal government took action against slavery. There began then a struggle between the slavery and anti-slavery forces which lasted ninety years and which ended only when Lincoln signed the Proclamation of Emancipation on January 1, 1863.

During the period of slavery, the religious and moral development of the American Negro was slow and naturally attended with difficulties. After being brought from his native Africa, the slave in time relinquished his former paganism and absorbed the religion, or irreligion, of his master. The master was often incapable of giving a religious training, and, in many cases, was opposed to anyone imparting a knowledge of Christian precepts to his slaves. The vast majority of the slaves were held in the Protestant sections of the South. Of the 4,000,000 slaves in the United States in 1863, probably not more than 5 per cent, certainly less than 10 per cent, had Catholic masters. The early Southern Catholics were nearly all residents of Maryland and Louisiana. The sentiment among a large proportion of slave holders throughout the States concerning the need of instruction or education for slaves, underwent a change at various times. In early days it was deemed necessary for the religious welfare of the Negro that he learn to read. Later prohibitive legislation was enacted, beginning in South Carolina in 1740, and extending over a century in a number of States. Not only was the general education of Negroes discountenanced, but also religious instruction was largely made impossible. Private and public teachers were prohibited from assisting Negroes to acquire knowledge in any manner whatsoever. The impression gained ground that the Negro would become discontented and rebellious, and so be less useful as a laborer, if his mind were enlightened. It was not

[4] Albert Bushnell Hart, *Slavery in the United States*. New York, 1904–1906.

uncommon, however, for earnest Christians boldly to defy such laws by instructing the Negroes of their communities. Especially did the Catholics and Quakers favor the education and Christian instruction of the slaves.

A recent authority points out that the Spanish and French missionaries, the first to face the Negro problem, set an example which has influenced the education of the Negroes throughout America.[5] The instruction and education of the Negroes was facilitated among the French and Spanish by their liberal attitude toward their slaves. Woodson, in his *Education of the Negro Prior to* 1861, tells us that evidence of a general interest in the improvement of Negroes appear in the *Code Noir*, which made it incumbent upon masters to enlighten their slaves that they might grasp the principles of the Christian religion. The *Code Noir* obliged every planter to have his Negroes instructed and baptized. It allowed the slave time for instruction, worship, and rest, not only every Sunday, but every festival, usually observed by the Roman Catholic Church. It did not permit any market to be held on Sundays or holidays. It prohibited under severe penalties all masters and managers from corrupting their female slaves. It did not allow the Negro husband, wife or infant children to be sold separately. It forbade them the use of torture, or immoderate and inhuman punishments. It obliged the owners to maintain their old and decrepit slaves. If the Negroes were not fed and clothed as the law prescribed, or if they were in any way cruelly treated, they might apply to the *Procureur*, who was obliged by his office to protect them.[6] It was not until the French provided that masters should take their slaves to church and have them indoctrinated in the Catholic faith, that the proposition was seriously considered by many of the Puritans. Like the

[5] CARTER GODWIN WOODSON, *The Education of the Negro Prior to* 1861, pp. 3–8–9. New York, 1915. The author argues that whatever bad traits the American negro developed, resulted not from an instinct common to the natives of Africa, but from the adverse institutions and circumstances with which he had to contend and from the actual teaching of the slaves to be low and depraved that they might never develop sufficient strength to become a powerful element in society. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 200.

[6] *Code Noir*, p. 88–100. Paris, 1743. An English version of the Black Code is found in *Historical Collections of Louisiana* by B. F. French, Vol. iii, pp. 89–95. New York, 1851.

Anglicans, they felt sufficient compunction of conscience to take steps to Christianize the slaves, lest the Catholics, whom they considered as undesirable churchmen, should put the Protestants to shame. The publication of the *Code Noir* probably influenced the instructions sent out from England to his Majesty's governors, requiring them with the assistance of our counsel to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion. Shamed somewhat by the good example of the Catholics, the English colonists had to find a way to overcome the objections of those who, granting that the enlightenment of the slaves might not lead to servile insurrection, nevertheless feared that their conversion might work manumission. To meet this exigency the colonists secured, through legislation by their assemblies and formal declarations of the Bishop of London, the abrogation of the law that a Christian could not be held as a slave. Then, allowed access to the bondmen, the missionaries of the Church of England—undertook to educate the slaves for the purpose of extensive proselyting.[7]

Under Lord Baltimore's government in Maryland, the Catholic Proprietary himself tells us in his answer to the Lords in 1676:

> "Whereas in many other parts of America, they refuse (out of covetousness) to permit their Negroes and mulattoes to be baptized out of an opinion that baptism is a manumission from their services, and consequently the same thing as to the damage of the masters and owners as if their servants were actually dead—and this opinion to take place in this Province, a law was made to encourage the baptizing of them—and there have been found good effects from this law, all masters generally, since making of this law, having been willing to instruct those kinds of servants in the faith of Christ, and to bring them to desire and receive baptism!"

Again we read:

> "Whereas, several of the good people of this Province have been discouraged to import or purchase any Negroes or other slaves, and such as have imported or purchased any, such have to the great displeasure Almighty God and the prejudice of the souls of those poor people, neglected to instruct them in the Christian faith, or to endure or permit them to receive the holy sacrament of Baptism for the remission of their sins, upon a mistaken and ungrounded apprehension that by becoming

[7] WOODSON, *op. cit*, pp. 3–4, 42.

> Christians they and the issue of their bodies are actually manumitted, and made free and discharged from their servitude and bondage, be it enacted—that where any Negro or Negro slave being in bondage—shall become Christian—and shall receive the sacrament of Baptism—the same shall not be—construed into a manumission—"etc.[8]

It should be stated here that in more recent years, when adverse legislation to the Negroes was proposed in Maryland and it was question of enacting new segregation and restricted suffrage laws, His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons and the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte courageously defended the rights and interests of the colored people.

Besides the Catholics already named, there were other eminent members of the faith, in colonial times, who took an active interest in the education of the enslaved Negro. Woodson tells us that none of the revolutionary leaders were more moved with compassion for the colored people than the Polish general, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. He saw in education the powerful leverage which would place them in position to enjoy the newly won rights of man. While assisting us in gaining our independence, Kosciuszko acquired here valuable property which he endeavored to devote to the enlightenment of the slaves. He authorized Thomas Jefferson, his executor, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes and liberating them in the name of Kosciuszko, in giving them an education in trades or otherwise, and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality. The instructors were to provide for them such training as would make them "good neighbors, good mothers or fathers, good husbands or wives; teaching them the duties of citizenship; teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country, and of the good order of society, and whatsoever might make them useful and happy." The clear directions of the testator were never carried out, so far as is known. General Lafayette, a promoter of the emancipation and improvement of the colored people, and a member of the New York Manumission Society, visited the "African Free Schools" of New York in 1824, on his return to the United States. He was bidden welcome by an eleven year old pupil in well-chosen and significant words. After

[8] William T. Russell, *Maryland, The Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 268–69. Baltimore, 1907.

spending the afternoon inspecting the schools, the General pronounced them the "best disciplined and the most interesting schools of children" he had ever seen.[9]

Catholic solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the Negro was actively seen in the work of the American Colonization Society to found the Republic of Liberia in Africa—a place to which free Negroes and persons of African descent might return from the United States. A recent writer on this important problem says that the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, was at one time president of this Colonization Society, which sent out its first colony to Africa on February 6, 1820. Numerous Catholics from Maryland and the adjoining States were among these pioneer settlers. Bishop England, of Charleston, S. C., called Propaganda's attention to this neglected field of Catholic activity, and at the request of the Congregation of Propaganda, and in answer to reports received at Rome, the second Plenary Council of Baltimore undertook to provide for their spiritual needs. The Rev. John Kelly, of New York (brother of Eugene Kelly, the banker), and the Rev. Edward Barron, of Philadelphia, volunteered for this mission and sailed from Baltimore for Africa, on December 21, 1841. A year later Father Barron found the work of the mission greater than was expected and came back for more help. On January 22, 1842, Father Barron was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of the Two Guineas. With Father Kelly he remained in Africa two years, and then wasted by fever, they were both forced to return to the United States. He died of yellow fever while ministering to the sick during an epidemic at Savannah, Ga., September 12, 1854. Father Kelly, after a long pastorate, died at St. Peter's, Jersey City, N. J., on April 28, 1866. The mission they founded in Africa still continues. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost took it up when Bishop Barron and Father Kelly were forced to leave, and since 1906 it has been under the care of the Priests of the African Missions, whose headquarters are at Lyons, France.[10]

During the anti-slavery agitation of the Civil War era, the

[9] Cf. WOODSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–99 *passim.*

[10] Cf. *Mission Work among Colored Catholics*, article by T. F. MEEHAN, in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. vii (1915), p. 121.

colored people had staunch advocates in New York in Orestes A. Brownson, the famous philosopher and publicist;[11] the Rev. Dr. J. W. Cummings, rector of St. Stephen's Church; the Rev. Thomas Farrell, rector of St. Joseph's, Sixth Avenue and Washington Place; the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, and Rev. Dr. Richard Lalor Burtsell, the last two then young priests. Many colored people lived in the vicinity of St. Joseph's Church, and Father Farrell was regarded as the special and enthusiastic champion of their race. During the earlier period of our history, namely, in the eighteenth century, when the large importation of slaves was in progress, the activity of the Catholic Church was limited to the few Catholic colonies that existed. There was lack of priests and lack of means, while in most of the southern communities Catholics and others were denied access to the Negroes, even when they volunteered to work as missionaries among the colored people, and in several Southern States special laws were enacted to prevent the influx of these Christian workers.[12] Furthermore, in some sections the anti-Catholic penal laws in force rendered it impossible to do any effective missionary work. It is a curious phenomenon that during this period, in several instances, prejudice against Catholics was associated with prejudice against Negroes. According to the laws of Virginia in 1705: "Popish recusants, convicts, Negroes, Mulatoes and Indian servants, and others not being Christians shall be deemed and taken to be persons incapable in law to be witnesses in any cases whatsoever."[13] In New York City, in 1741, occurred the so-called Negro Plot. A panic seized the inhabitants and officials, after an accidental fire had occurred in the fort, and a report was spread that Spanish Negro slaves had formed a plan to destroy the city. Wild excitement prevailed, partly due to a foolish letter of General Oglethorpe of Georgia "warning the northern government against Spanish spies, chiefly priests, who were to burn the principal towns." On the false testimony of degraded informers during this outburst of cruelty, one hundred

[11] Brownson's views on the Negro Problem and on slavery (written before and during the Civil War) are found chiefly in his *Works*, Vol. xvii. Detroit, 1885.

[12] Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[13] *Cf.* William Waller Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, Vol. iii, p. 298. Philadelphia, 1823.

and fifty-four Negroes were imprisoned. Of these thirteen were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one transported. Several of these Negroes, who were probably Catholic sailors from the West Indies, died with crucifixes in their hands. Twenty-one white persons were also arrested, of whom four were hanged. Among them was the Rev. John Ury, said to have been an Episcopal clergyman, who lived by teaching. He was an inoffensive man, but taken to be a Catholic priest and accused of being the leader of the plot. Though there was no evidence to convict him, he was condemned and hanged.[14] One hundred years later, in 1845, in Philadelphia, after the anti-Catholic riots and the burning of Catholic Churches and other buildings by the mob, the Augustinians sought damages for the burned church of St. Augustine from the county. Objections were put forward by the council, and in order to envelop the missionaries in the prejudice against the Negroes, and so array the jury against them, it was stated that the Augustinians had been founded by an African Negro.[15] A more recent instance of unreasonable animosity to Catholics combined with prejudice against Negroes was the summoning into court on Easter Monday, 1916, of three Sisters of St. Joseph for teaching colored children at St. Augustine, Florida. Three years previously a law had been passed forbidding whites to teach the colored in colored schools. When the law was placed on the statute books of Florida, it was held to be unconstitutional by the best legal talent in the State. For three years it remained a dead letter and the State itself violated the law in its Blind Institute in St. Augustine. It was then that white members of an anti-Catholic secret society urged six ignorant Negroes to petition the government to enforce the unjust law against the Catholic Sisters. Thereupon Governor

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[14] Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 399; and JAMES GRANT WILSON, *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, Vol. ii, pp. 252–255; Vol. iv, p. 636. New York, 1892. These authorities hold that Ury was an Episcopal minister, but Archbishop Bayley contends that he was probably a Catholic priest: "Whether he was really a Catholic priest or not, he was certainly condemned and hung as such. The most conclusive fact in favor of his being a priest is founded upon the circumstance, that when arraigned as a priest, tried as a priest, and condemned as a priest, he never formally denied it, nor exhibited any evidence of his being ordained in the Church of England." Cf. *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 706. Chicago, 1901.

[15] Cf. *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 662.

Park Trammell ordered the Sheriff of St. John's County to arrest the Sisters. Judge Gibbs of the Circuit Court of Florida, who tried the case, declared that the courts are and always should be jealous in guarding the liberty of individuals as guaranteed under the State and Federal Constitutions. The law under which the Sisters were brought to the courts by the sheriff and their schools closed was declared to be null and void as to private schools. The judge ruled that the law applied only to public schools. Judge Gibbs ordered the Sisters discharged and put the costs on the county; he gave an extended opinion of the case as also on the right to pursue a lawful calling.[16]

The story of the Negro's progress in education and religion is a record of persistent strivings, a long drawn out effort and struggle on the part of members of the race itself, as also on the part of their friends. In spite of obstacles and opposition, Catholics from early times have always been active on Colored Mission Work in those sections where they had liberty. Among the first Catholic schools for colored were those of Georgetown in the District of Columbia, and in Baltimore, Md. In Georgetown, able and devout Catholic colored women did splendid work about 1830. With the assistance of Father Vanlomen, the benevolent pastor then in charge of the Holy Trinity Church, Maria Becraft, one of the most capable colored woman in the District of Columbia at that time, established there the first seminary for the education of colored girls. She had begun to teach in a less desirable section, but impressed with the character of this girl, Father Vanlomen had her school transferred to a larger building on Fayette Street, where she taught until 1831. She then turned over her seminary to girls she had trained, and became a teacher in a convent at Baltimore, as an Oblate Sister of Providence. Other noted colored women who accomplished excellent work in schools at that time, received their training at St. Frances Academy at Baltimore. Catholics admitted the colored people to their churches on an equal footing. Furthermore, they continued to admit them to their parochial schools. The Sisters of Georgetown trained colored girls, and the parochial school of St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D. C., at one time had as

[16] Cf. *Truth*, for June and July, 1916

many as two hundred and fifty pupils of color. Many of the first colored teachers of the District of Columbia obtained their education in these schools.[17]

The coming of the refugees and French priests from San Domingo to Baltimore to escape the revolution marked an epoch in the intellectual progress of the colored people of that city. Thereafter their intellectual class had access to an increasing black population, anxious to be enlightened. Given this better working basis, they secured from the ranks of the Catholics additional catechists and teachers to give a larger number of illiterates the fundamentals of education. Their untiring coworker in furnishing these facilities was the Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828. These schools were such an improvement over those formerly opened to Negroes that colored youths of other towns and cities thereafter came to Baltimore for higher training. The coming of the refugees from Santo Domingo to Baltimore had a direct bearing on the education of colored girls. Their condition excited the sympathy of the immigrating colored women. These ladies had been educated both in the Island of San Domingo and in Paris. At once interested in the uplift of this sex, they soon constituted the nucleus of the society which finally formed the St. Frances Academy for Girls in connection with the Oblate Sisters of Providence Convent in Baltimore, June 5, 1829. This step was sanctioned by the Most Rev. James Whitefield, the successor of Archbishop Maréchal, and was later approved by the Holy See. The institution was located on Richmond Street in a building which on account of the rapid growth of the school soon gave way to larger quarters. The aim of the institution was to train girls, all of whom "would become mothers or household servants, in such solid virtues and religious and moral principles as modesty, honesty and integrity."[18] The Oblate Sisters of Providence were founded in 1829 under the guidance of the Rev. Jacques Hector Nicholas Joubert de la Muraille, a French refugee. With the approval of the Archbishop of Baltimore, a novitiate was opened on July 2, 1829. The first four Sisters,

[17] Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–135. This author refers to, and quotes largely from, the *Special Report of U. S. Comm. of Education* (1871), pp. 204, 218.

[18] Cf. Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

Elizabeth Lang, of Santiago, Cuba; Mary Rosine Boegues. of San Domingo; Mary Frances Balas, of San Domingo; Mary Theresa Duchemin, of Baltimore, made their vows on this occasion.

It was only after the emancipation of the Negroes in 1863 that the Catholic Church was enabled to extend its work for the race. Soon after the Civil War, the American hierarchy and the bishops of the various dioceses began to take action in promoting the conversion of the colored people. The Second and the Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore pleaded with great earnestness the cause of the needy and lately emancipated Negro. The Second Plenary Council says: "By the bowels of the mercy of God, we beg and implore priests as far as they can, to consecrate their thoughts, their time, and themselves wholly and entirely, if possible, to the service of the colored people." The Third Plenary Council, going a step further, urged on the superiors of seminaries to foster vocations for this mission, and often to set before their seminarians that promise of our Lord, which applies most especially to this apostolate.[19]

Heretofore, the usual practice had been for white and black to attend the same churches. This may be necessary and satisfactory where there are but few Negroes, but where the colored population is more numerous, it has been found that separate churches are needed. Some of the diocesan priests are doing excellent work by devoting themselves entirely to the care of the colored people.

Mr. Warrington Dawson, after charging that past efforts of the missionaries have given little results, favors the idea that the evangelization of the Negro had better be left to the discretion of the priests of the different parishes. The common experience is that better results can be expected and attained where there are separate churches, at which the priests give all their efforts

[19] *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii*, Tit. VIII, No. 239: "Quum vero maximus adhuc numerus Nigrorum extra Christi ovile versetur, oportet ut Ordinarii operarios zelo animarum succensos quaerant, quos mittant in hanc partem messis Domini. Sciant etiam seminariorum moderatores, omnium juribus sancte servatis, officii esse sui hujusmodi vocationem sedulo in animis alumnorum sanctuarii excolere, saepius illis proponendo Christi promissum quod in isto ministerio maxime valet: 'Nemo est qui reliquerit domum—qui non accipiat centies tantum nunc in tempore hoc—et in saeculo futuro vitam aeternam.' "

to the welfare of the colored race. Usually where white and black are together, the priest may be zealous and fair-minded, and may desire to treat the blacks with all charity in accordance with the spirit of the Church and of her Divine Founder, but there is likely to be a class of people in the congregation, who may resent what they deem to be the intrusion of the Negro, and then prejudice and discrimination may arise. The Negro, like other races, is sensitive of the treatment accorded members of his race. As a rule when he perceives that he is not welcome, he is not apt to venture where he feels he is not wanted.

The Third Plenary Council urged missionary communities or congregations to devote themselves to the conversion of the Negroes. There are now laboring in this field besides the *Josephite Fathers*, the *Fathers of the Holy Ghost*, the *Society of the African Missions* and the *Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word*. But in a special manner is the *Society of St. Joseph*, or the *Josephites* as they are usually called, given to this work. The members of this congregation began their task back in 1871. Father Herbert Vaughan, later Cardinal Vaughan, began the Society in 1866, at Mill Hill, near London, England. In order to secure funds for his new work, Dr. Vaughan travelled for several years in North and South America. On these journeys he endured many trials and sufferings, which he described on his return to England in 1865. With the encouragement of Archbishop Manning, a start was made on March 1, 1866. There was one professor, Father Vaughan himself, and one student, and all was committed to the honor and care of St. Joseph. The ideal of the missionary as held by Herbert Vaughan was an exalted one, and he sought to impart the ideal in the new College. In the models he early set before himself, his biographer tells us that St. Peter Claver held a dominating influence. The thought of this seventeenth century saint, who vowed himself for life to be the "slave of slaves," who were then being brought in shiploads from the coasts of Africa to the great market in Carthagena, directed his thoughts and plans. After some years of strenuous labor, Father Vaughan began to see the fruits of his efforts. In the autumn of 1871, St. Joseph's College had assigned to it by the Holy See, its first sphere of work. Early in the year, Dr. Vaughan, having four priests ordained, went to Rome, and there

at the feet of Pius IX, offered his little band to whatever mission His Holiness might assign to them. Shortly before that time, the decrees of the Second Council of Baltimore had been approved by Rome. The Council spoke in most moving terms of the Negroes, and appealed for priests to devote themselves exclusively to that neglected race. By command of Pius IX, Dr. Vaughan communicated with Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore. The result was that in November, 1871, Father Vaughan, with Revs. Cornelius Dowling, James Noonan, Joseph Gore and Charles Vigeront, sailed from Southampton for Baltimore. Father Vaughan would do these missionaries, the first to go out after his long labors, one final service: he would go out with them to America and see them settled in their new home in Baltimore. The little party met with a very friendly reception in Maryland, and the Archbishop of Baltimore placed at their disposal St. Francis Xavier's Church. This church had been used for Protestant service in 1863, and had a notable local history as a political assembly hall for political conventions. The building was purchased in 1863 by the zealous and distinguished Jesuit, Dr. O'Connor, formerly Bishop of Pittsburgh, for the exclusive use of colored Catholics.[20] Here the Fathers labored and built up a large congregation among the 40,000 Negroes in the city. Where there was then but one church, there are now four churches with Negro congregations. At St. Francis' rectory on Courtland Street also was published for many years *The St. Joseph's Advocate* in the interests of the missions, by the Rev. John H. Greene, who has only recently passed away. Before returning to England, Father Vaughan made a tour through the Southern States to study the condition of the Negro. The spiritual desolation which he found filled him with pity and compassion. He saw the advantage of having separate churches for the blacks and thought it an arrangement as much in the interests of the colored people as of the whites. The Fathers of the Society set to work at the great task before them. They began to establish missions, churches and schools in various dioceses. Missions were soon opened in Louisville, Ky. (1872), Charleston, S. C. (1875), Washington, D. C. (1881), Richmond, Va. (1884).

[20] Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, Vol. i, p. 154. London, 1910. Shea, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 412. *Cf.* also, *Our Africa*, St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, 1895.

It was soon found that more workers were needed and that it was expedient to secure vocations for the work in this country. The time came when it was deemed proper to educate the aspirants for the Negro Missions of the Society on the American side of the Atlantic. Hence in 1887, by the joint action of Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Vaughan, then Superior-General of the missionaries, it was resolved to open a Seminary at Baltimore. By the kindness of the Sulpitian Fathers in charge of St. Mary's Seminary, permission was granted to the students of the proposed Seminary to attend their course of lectures. Because of this advantage, the old Western Maryland Hotel at Pennsylvania Avenue and St. Mary's Street, was purchased, fitted up, and opened in September, 1888, with four seminarians. The following year, a building, which had formerly been the Highland Park Hotel, at Walbrook, a suburb of Baltimore, was secured and this was opened in 1889 as *Epiphany Apostolic College*, with thirty-five young men who came to master Latin and other collegiate branches, preparatory to entering St. Joseph's Seminary. Both institutions have prospered. Epiphany College has now (1917) fifty-two students. St. Joseph's Seminary, for which it was necessary to erect a more spacious building in 1893, has now thirty seminarians.

With the approbation of Cardinal Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, some of the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society, in 1892, separated from the parent Society in England and formed an independent organization here in America. As far back as 1879, Cardinal Vaughan proposed this; he began to see the need of a special community for the Negro work in America, which would draw vocations from this country. In March, 1891, a memorial was drawn with the knowledge of Cardinal Gibbons, and sent to Cardinal Vaughan, praying that the proposals so often made by the latter should be carried into effect and that the American Society be constituted an independent organization. In January, 1892, Cardinal Vaughan wrote officially to every priest on the Negro Missions, granting leave to each one to enter the new Society, or join the diocesan clergy, or continue allied to England. The confrères of the new Society met in the Epiphany College in July of that year, passed a week in Retreat, and drafted a body of rules for their government. They are the same as they had

lived under heretofore, no change being made, not even in the name of the Society, save that of designating the center of authority in Baltimore instead of Mill Hill, London. The Society has grown with the blessing of Divine Providence. It has had its trials, as all good works have. At present there are sixty-two priests in the American Society, scattered in fourteen Dioceses. Among the earlier Superiors distinguished for their labors in the Society were the Revs. A. B. Leeson, J. R. Slattery, and Thos. B. Donovan, who died in 1908. The present Superior of the American Community is the Very Rev. Justin McCarthy, S.S.J.

The evolution of the Negro Missions has been healthy and there is gradual and steady progress. Within the last few years work has been begun in various new dioceses. In opening new Missions, usually a Catholic school for the colored children is one of the first requisites. This is the case in wholly non-Catholic communities as well as in places where there are many colored Catholics, as on the Gulf Coast. The substantial aid given by the bishops, clergy and Catholic people, through annual collections, and through the *Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People*, headed by Msgr. Burke, of New York, has made the opening of new Missions and schools possible. Among the various agencies which assist the missionaries and contribute in a great degree to the success of their work are especially a number of the Sisterhoods who are teaching with much labor and zeal in the schools. There are several white Sisterhoods, as also two colored communities engaged in this work. The colored are: the Oblate Sisters of Providence, already mentioned, whose mother-house is in Baltimore; and the Holy Family Sisters, of New Orleans. A community of white Sisters which has especially given an impetus to the work on many missions is the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded in 1891 by Mother Katherine Drexel. The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament have had a remarkable growth, having now about two hundred Sisters. Within a few years they have established convents and schools for Negro children in a number of cities, including Philadelphia, New York, Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Columbus, Ohio; Nashville, Tenn.; Atlanta, Savannah; and Rock Castle, Va. In 1881, Franciscan Sisters of St. Mary's Abbey, Mill Hill, London, began work for destitute Negro children in

Baltimore. Although few in number and pressed by poverty and difficulties, they have in these years done excellent work in Baltimore, in Virginia and North Carolina. At St. Elizabeth's Home, Baltimore, there are usually over three hundred orphans, including an infant asylum for colored. The Sisters have now an American novitiate for their community in Baltimore.

The future progress of Catholicism among our colored population, which now numbers over 10,000,000 souls, will, no doubt, keep pace with the growth of the Church among the white population. The spread of the Faith among the Negroes will equal the measure of zealous work done in their behalf; done with the spirit and charity of Christ. Wherever a good Catholic example and environment exist, the success is more marked. In the last few years, notable progress has been made. Well established churches and missions report from twenty to sixty converts annually. Two or three of the Josephite Fathers are usually kept preaching missions to colored Catholics and non-Catholics. Among them is Rev. John H. Dorsey, a colored priest, who has been very successful. The experience of the missionaries and pastors of the colored congregations is that where there are at least some good priests of their own race laboring among them, it helps to strengthen confidence in the Church. The Negroes are, as a rule, well disposed and often eager to enter the Church. But, on the other hand, there are also serious difficulties to be encountered. Among them are the lack of means for the support of schools, both primary and higher schools, especially industrial, to cope with the large number of well-equipped non-Catholic institutions of various kinds. These schools very often make no pretense of teaching religion or morals. Their policy is largely utilitarian and materialistic, and sometimes anti-Catholic.[21] Since the emancipation of the slaves in 1863, enormous sums have been spent for the education of the races, and although the proportion is much smaller for the Negroes of the South than that of the total spent yet, not including public state funds, it is roughly estimated that Protestant missionary societies and philanthropists have contributed since 1865 for Negro education, $57,000,000. The investments in Negro Colleges, Normal and

[21] *The Negro and Catholicism*, article in *America* for March 28, 1914.

industrial schools now amount to $20,000,000, with endowments of $6,000,000.[11] Another obstacle to missionary work is the prejudice and opposition of whites to any new Catholic work, especially in Protestant communities of the South. In some cases there are loud and violent protests to the existence of a new church or school. White and black Protestant ministers start an agitation. However, in time this may disappear, and with the help of Divine Providence and the cooperation of Catholics throughout the country, the work will steadily advance.

The following computation of Catholic work for Negroes in the United States is based on the *Annual Reports* of the Commissioners of the Negro and Indian Mission Fund:

Year	1890	1900	1910	1917
Priests	30	45	59	105
Churches	25	40	75	101
Schools	98	81	134	141
Pupils	6,093	6,201	9,060	14,997
Children Baptized	4,907	5,198	4,735	6,110
Adult Converts	853	797	1,079	1,640

Joseph Butsch, S.S.J.,
St. Joseph's Seminary,
Baltimore, Md.

[11] Monroe N. Work, *Negro Year Book*, p. 235 Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1914.

EARLY IRISH SCHOOLMASTERS IN NEW ENGLAND

In these days of enquiry into the history of the Irish pioneers in America, there is no feature of this subject more appropriate for research, yet none so much neglected, as that of Ireland's contribution to early American education. While the part played by the "Exiles from Erin" during the period of the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars is now being related with more or less precision and particularity,[1] as yet no friendly hand had garnered the memorials of the Irish Schoolmasters of colonial times who helped to lay the foundation of our system of public education. It is much to be regretted that some competent historian did not undertake this task many years ago, for in the lapse of time and in the neglect of opportunity, events which should have been preserved can now hardly be given with historical confidence, hardly even as tradition. But, though much has perished, many sources of information still remain; and in this hitherto unexplored mine of historical facts the writer has occasionally delved for those "golden nuggets" which have so long been hidden from the knowledge of the general reading public.

The history of the Irish Schoolmasters in the American colonies is one that is filled with special interest, and, from my knowledge of the subject, I believe it is one that should take the place of primary importance in reviewing the story of Irish achievement in this country. In that land of misfortune and travail, where, "crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge or stretched on mountain fern, the teacher and his pupils met, *feloniously to learn*," it is not to be wondered at that the schoolmaster became a wanderer and an outlaw, and the marvel of it all is that so many of them survived to join in after years that apostleship of teachers who trained the youth of the American colonies to understand better the blessings of Liberty and Independence.

It is related that on one occasion, when a member of the English House of Lords tauntingly referred to the Irish peasants as "rude and ignorant," Lord Byron promptly answered, and

[1] In recent years, several books have been published on this subject, and the publications of the American Irish Historical Society also contain much valuable and interesting data relating to the early Irish settlers.

with all the bitter sarcasm for which he was noted: "Aye, well may you call them ignorant, my Lord, when you burn the school house and hang the schoolmaster!" That pithy reply from a generous Englishman was the quintessence of the story of the Irish Schoolmaster in his own country during the time of the Penal Laws—a piece of legislation described by Edmund Burke as "one of the most frightful engines of oppression that the perverted ingenuity of man could conceive!" In connection with the Irish schoolmasters in America, therefore, it is necessary to take into account their civil status in their own country during the early years of the eighteenth century. The Penal Laws rendered it treasonable to encourage education in Ireland, to build a school house or even to send children to be taught in a neighbor's house. A reward was placed upon the head of any schoolmaster found guilty of following his profession, and the penalty was transportation as a "convict" to the West Indies or to the plantations of Virginia. Under laws of this nature, many of the Irish schoolmasters fled the country, and the people of the next generation suffered in a great measure, and learning declined. The schoolmaster had no alternative but to leave his native land, and thus it came about that what was Ireland's loss was gain to the American colonies. In many of the shipping lists containing the names, occupations and places of nativity of the *redemptioners*, who came to the colonies during the eighteenth century, frequent references to Irish schoolmasters are found, and it is a sad commentary on the educational conditions of the period that the "time" of a common laborer, in many instances, brought as high a price as that of the teacher. Evidence is abundant from authentic records of the enlightened character and competency of those Irish teachers, and that so many of them are to be found in America is a significant factor in the emigrations from Ireland during the Colonial Period. Among original sources of information the *Town Books* and the Land and Church Records are the most trustworthy, and in these early Records as well as in the Colonial newspapers, town and county histories, genealogical works, the collections of historical societies, and other such dependable sources, may be found numerous references to the Irish teachers who conducted private or "select" schools, where the youth of the colonies learned their first letters and in

many cases were prepared for entry into the more advanced schools or colleges of the country.[2]

The number of teachers who were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, is remarkable. They were generally the sons of merchants and of the "well-to-do," who probably being unable to find an opening at home, crossed the seas to try their fortune in the new country. As a competent authority describes them, they were—

> "the younger sons of wealthy families, being deprived of an inheritance in the ancestral estates, and were presented with the alternative of entering the learned professions or of purchasing a commission in the British Army, the idea of which, to many Irishmen, was revolting. Many of these scions of Irish families were highly educated and were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin. Emigration to America seemed a hopeful solution to the question how to obtain a livelihood, and since the younger sons of Irish families were unused to toil, and, therefore, unfitted to enter the various avocations of labor, they consequently sought the congenial employment of teaching, for which there was a demand in the various American communities. For years this business was monopolized by these younger sons, and their profession was later known as that of the early Irish Schoolmasters."[3]

It is an historic fact that in some parts of the Colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and Maryland, the youth of the settlements had to depend almost exclusively for their education upon immigrant Irish Schoolmasters, some of whom were refugees from government persecutions. Acrelius, the historian of *New Sweden*,[4] in referring to the widespread ignorance among the settlers of that region about the middle of the eighteenth century says: "Forty years back our people scarcely knew what a school was, until there came over from Ireland some Presbyterians and Roman Catholics who commenced with school-keeping." Not a few of the eminent men of American history learned their letters from Irish schoolmasters and it is known that several of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence were taught by Irish immigrant tutors. For example, the historian, Lossing, in referring to Dr. Francis Allison of Donegal, Ireland, "one of the

[2] The writer has made a large collection of names of Irish Schoolmasters from New York, Philadelphia and other newspapers, as early as 1734 and down to and beyond the Revolutionary period.

[3] Houston, in *Proceedings of the Lancaster County, Pa., Historical Society*, Vol. ii, No. 2.

[4] The three "Lower Counties" of Pennsylvania—now Delaware.

foremost scholars of his time in America," who conducted a classical school at New London, Pa., says: "Allison's chief fame to honor among men is that he was the tutor of a large number of Americans who were conspicuous actors in the events of the Revolution that accomplished the independence of the United States." Among his pupils were James Smith, Thomas McKean, and George Read, all Signers, and Charles Thomson, "the perennial Secretary of the Continental Congress." It is a singular fact, also, that the biographers of John Dickinson, celebrated as "the Penman of the Revolution," admit that he caught his argumentative and convincing style from his Irish tutor, William Killen, and the celebrated Roger Brooke Taney declares in his *Memoirs* that one of his first teachers was "an Irishman, a ripe scholar and an amiable and accomplished man."

Beginning about 1774, there is a noticeable dearth of entries in the records relating to schools and schoolmasters. The shadow of the Revolution was over the land, and no community, however small, was free from the fast gathering clouds of war. The teachers of the country were beginning to understand that a conflict with British power and arrogance was inevitable and preparations were made accordingly. In many places, the teacher turned his attention to the more pressing need of the hour and either taught his pupils to shoot and drill, or acted as clerk or adjutant to the local military company. During the decade of years between 1774 and 1784, many rural communities were entirely without the services of a tutor, for the "Master" had dropped the ferule for the rifle and marched forth with his neighbors to fight in the cause of Independence, and henceforward, it is on the rosters of the patriot forces that one must look for their names. Ample proof of this assertion may be found in the rosters of the military companies,[5] where the occupations of the enlisted men were taken down. In the Land, Probate and other records of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Carolinas, mention is made of many schoolmasters of Irish name and race who mingled their

[5] *The Archives of Delaware*, Vol. i, contain the names of several Irish schoolmasters who joined the military companies organized in that section. Also the *Muster Rolls of the New York Provincial Troops*, as published in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society, volume for 1897. See also *N. Y. in the Revolution*, the *Archives of New Jersey*, and *Penna. Archives*, published by authority of the State Legislatures.

teaching of the rudiments of learning with a sound American patriotism, and many of whom joined the patriot forces and after the war quietly resumed the practice of their profession. In New England, Irish schoolmasters are found teaching the children of the Puritans long before the days of the Revolution, and one of the leading authorities on the early history of that section wrote more than sixty years ago: "Many aged people of the present day in New Hampshire well remember the stories told by their fathers of the old Irish schoolmasters. Those schoolmasters were almost always of good families at home and were well educated and men of enterprise. Of this class was John Sullivan, of whom it was said that he could speak Latin and French with ease and fluency when he was 100 years old."[6] This noted New England educator was a native of Limerick and was a descendant of the Lords of Beare Haven, an ancient Irish family of the Counties of Cork and Kerry. He taught classical schools in Maine and New Hampshire for more than half a century[7] and it is related that on his arrival here in the year 1723, in order to show that he was competent to teach, "he wrote his application for employment in seven languages."[8] He is first mentioned as a teacher in the Minutes of the Meeting of the Selectmen of the Town of Dover, N. H., under date of May 20, 1723, where his name is recorded by the Town Clerk as "Master Sullefund." He is referred to as a man of great natural abilities and mental cultivation and as the instructor for many successive generations of his neighbors he acquired much influence over them as they grew to manhood.[9] As an instance of his versatility, it is said that he was called upon to draw up all the wills, deeds and other legal papers in the simple, rural community about him and was their confidant and counsellor in all cases of trouble and difficulty.[10] An obituary notice of his death said: "This respected and extraordinary character was employed till he was 90 years of age in teaching

[6] Cf. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register:* volume for 1853.

[7] Portsmouth, N. H., *Oracle of the Day*, June 22, 1796. See also various sketches of his career in the *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society*, and *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

[8] *Records of Scotland Parish, Me.*, kept by Rev. Dr. Moody. See also *The Ancestors of General John Sullivan*, by Bernard Coll, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xviii, No. 2.

[9] T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan, Governor of Massachusetts*. Boston, 1859.

[10] T. C. Amory. *Life of James Sullivan*. Boston, 1859.

public and private schools and perhaps few persons ever diffused so much useful learning."[11]

This Irish American teacher stands out as a splendid type of "the early Irish schoolmaster" and, with all propriety, he surely may be ranked among the Fathers of the Republic. As an historical writer has so pithily expressed it: "He was the father of a Governor of New Hampshire, and of a Governor of Massachusetts, of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, of New Hampshire's only Major-General in the Continental Army, of the first Judge appointed by Washington in New Hampshire and of four sons who were officers in the Continental Army. He was grandfather of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire, of a Governor of Maine and of a United States Senator from Maine. He was great-grandfather of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire and great-great-grandfather of an officer in the Thirteenth New Hampshire Regiment in the Civil War."[12] Such was the Irish schoolmaster, John Sullivan, from the city of the Broken Treaty. Banned in his native country and driven across the seas by English oppression, he lighted the torch of learning in the Western Continent and thus forged a link in the chain which binds America to Ireland in an unbroken bond of sympathy.

The first teacher to appear in New England records was John Higginson who set up a school at Hartford, Conn., in 1637. He was a native of England, yet his name suggests a probable Irish origin, for there were many Higginsons in New England descended from Irish people named Higgins, whose ancestors first settled in England from where members of the family emigrated to the Colonies. Indeed, Higgins is but a modern form or literal translation of MacHiggin, a name derived from the Irish word *Uigin*, meaning "knowledge." Several of the "Mac" families in Ireland translated their names in the same manner, such as the MacDonnells who became Donnelson, the MacNeills who became Neilson, and so one. We find an example of the change from Higgins to Higginson in the genealogy of the descendants of Richard Higgins, who came to Eastham, Mass., in 1644, where he became a prominent man and was the ancestor of numerous families named Higginson scattered through the Eastern States. The local town historian informs us that he found the name on the town records as "Higginson" and that the original ancestor of the people of that name was "Richard

[11] In Portsmouth, N. H., *Oracle of the Day*, June 22, 1796.
[12] John C. Linehan, in *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society*.

Higgins, of Celtic origin."[13] Another of the family, Fergus Higgins, came direct from Ireland to Scarboro, Me. Some of his New England descendants claim their ancestors "came from England," but a Maine historian asks: "Did they come from Belfast, Dublin or Cork, *via* Liverpool, and is this the way they came from England?"[14]

William Collins who came to New Haven in the year 1640, with a number of Irish refugees from Barbadoes, is referred to in the Journal of John Winthrop, Colonial Governor of Connecticut, as "a young scholar full of zeal." He established and taught school at Hartford as can be seen from a sketch of the pioneer in Felt's *Ecclesiastical History of New England*. The period of his service as a teacher is unknown, but it could not have been very long for we are told that he and his wife, Bridget Collins, were murdered by Indians in the year 1643 in the vicinity of what is now New Rochelle, N. Y., and it is said that some of those who accompanied Collins from Barbadoes returned to Ireland. This is the only authority for including his name in this list of early Irish schoolmasters in New England.

The earliest female teacher in New England, of whom we have any authentic history, was Margaret Healy. It is difficult to determine whether she was of the Irish race. The town records of Cambridge, Mass., contain an entry reading: "In March, 1680, for English our school dame was good wife Healy." No other reference can be found to the "good" Mistress Healy, who taught the children of that famous University town so long ago, but she is mentioned in the records as "the wife of Willyam Heally," an Irishman, who was an inhabitant of the town as early as 1664.[15]

Several members of the Irish family of FitzGerald taught schools in Massachusetts in early Colonial days. The select men of the town of Long Meadow, surely indicated the need of the schoolmaster when, on September 30, 1714, they "Voated to Gitt or have a Schoole master to Teach or Learn our Children to Read and rite,"[16] and the only man they could find for the place was an Irishman named James Gerrald or FitzGerald. In 1717 he seems to have removed to Springfield, for in that year "James Gerrald" received "the approbation of the Selectmen for permission to open a Schoole."[17] In 1718 an Irish colony located at Worcester and here their leader, a Presbyterian clergyman named Edward Fitzgerald, established a school for the benefit of the children of this and the neighboring settlements. The records of the ancient town of Scituate, Mass., show that "Richard Fitzgerald, a veteran Latin schoolmaster" was teaching a classical school there in 1729, and on May 14, 1734, he was chosen to teach the children of the neighboring settlement of Hanover. On the church records of that town it is stated

[13] FREEMAN, *Annals of Eastham, Mass.*

[14] GIDEON T. RIDLON, *Saco Valley Settlements and Families*. Portland, Me., 1865.

[15] *Records of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay*, of August 17, 1664.

[16] Town Books of Long Meadow, Mass.

[17] Town Books of Springfield, Mass.

that "Fitzgerald was the schoolmaster of the town for nearly twenty years."[18] He is described by local historians as "a man of talent, well skilled in the languages, especially Latin, and under his judicious training many were reared who afterwards became distinguished in the town and State."[19] One of his pupils was William Cushing, afterwards to become famous as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.[20]

In 1737, Peter Pelham, an Irishman, made application to the Selectmen to open a school at Boston.[21] He was one of the charter members of the Charitable Irish Society, founded at Boston on St. Patrick's Day, 1737, and is described by New England historians as "the father of fine arts in New England" and as "one of the Irish nation residing in Boston." At a meeting of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston on October 15, 1740, there was read "the Petition of Mr. Cornelius Lynch, Praying that Liberty may be Granted him to Open a School in this Town for the teaching of Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, Navigation," etc., and on November 19, the Town "voted that the said Linch be and hereby is approved of so long as he Continues to behave himself to the Approbation of the Selectmen."[22]

At Amesbury, Mass., John Hickey was one of the town teachers in the year 1751.[23] "An Irishman named Toler" is described as one of the schoolmasters of the town of Stoneham, Mass.,[24] "in the olden times." The period that he flourished is not mentioned, but another town historian[25] refers to a "Captain William Toler," who taught there as early as 1763, and who, doubtless, was the same. In 1750, and for some years thereafter, John Kenney was the schoolmaster at Canton, Mass., and he also conducted a private school for some time at Stoughton, Mass. He seems to have been a learned man for those times and is said to have had a remarkable faculty for drawing up "unbreakable wills," deeds, leases and indentures and made a successful business of it. He was one of the Minute Men from that district in 1775. In the brig, *William* from Ireland, which arrived at Boston on September 29, 1766, there are listed among her passengers "Mr. Barry Schoolmaster and Timothy Dorson Schoolmaster,"[26] but it is uncertain whether either of them

[18] *Records of the First Congregational Church at Hanover, Mass.*, compiled by Lloyd Vernon Briggs. Boston, 1895.

[19] John Stetson Barry, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Hanover, Mass.* Boston, 1853.

[20] Henry Flanders, *Lives and Times of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.* Phila., 1855.

[21] One of his advertisements, announcing "the opening of a new school," may be seen in the *Boston News Letter*, of September 12, 1748.

[22] *Minutes of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston*, 6th Book, pp. 258 and 263.

[23] Joseph Merrill, *History of Amesbury, Mass.* Haverhill, Mass., 1880.

[24] Silas Dean. *A Brief History of the Town of Stoneham, Mass.*, Boston, 1843.

[25] William B. Stevens. *History of Stoneham, Mass.*, Stoneham, 1891.

[26] Miscellaneous papers relating to the early History of Boston, in 29th volume of the Town Books.

followed that calling in America. Lawrence and Peter McLouth, brothers, are mentioned as "old time pedagogues" of the town of Farmington, Ontario County, N. Y.[27] They were born at Taunton, Mass., of Irish parentage and we are told that "the father of the McLouths was educated in Maynooth College, Ireland, and after coming to this country taught a grammar school in Massachusetts, where John Hancock was one of his pupils."[28] Four of the family served in the War of the Revolution, among them the two Farmington school teachers. When or where the McLouth school was located is not known for certain, but it was probably at Quincy, Mass. The Irish teacher is not mentioned by any of Hancock's biographers.

John O'Rourke made "application for the approbation of the Selectmen" at Boston on December 7, 1781, "to teach the French language in this town," and was approved of "provided he first take the Oath of Allegiance required by the Commonwealth."[29] Michael Walsh was one of the best known schoolmasters of his time in Massachusetts. He was born in Ireland in 1763 and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1792 he was appointed teacher at Marblehead and later taught at Amesbury and Salisbury, Mass. "By his system of teaching," we are told, "he exercised a remarkable influence over his pupils." He acquired a great reputation in New England on account of his wide knowledge of the classics and mathemathical sciences, and it is said his fame extended as far as the West Indies. One of his pupils at Marblehead was Joseph Story, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In the autobiography of Justice Story, the Irish teacher is thus referred to: "My best classical instruction, such as it was, I principally owed to Mr. Michael Walsh, then Usher in the Academy, and author of a work on Mental Arithmetic." He traces back to Walsh his "earliest knowledge of English literature" and his "inextinguishable love for the great masters of that literature in former times."[30] John Walsh, son of this famous schoolmaster, became a mathematician and instructor in the United States Navy and his daughters, Joanna and Betsey Walsh, were school teachers at Salisbury Point, Mass.

In 1742 Thomas McGee came to Sutton, Mass., and soon after was appointed schoolmaster. The records of the town of Chester, N. H., where he first settled, show that he was an immigrant from Ireland. Fifteen years later, John McKinstry, a native of Brode Parish, County Antrim, is mentioned as the teacher of the youth of the settlement. Charles Gleason was hired as Schoolmaster by the town of Framingham in 1788, and John Gleason, thought to be his son, was one of the local teachers in 1794. At Chicopee, Mass., we learn that the first school

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[27] Chas. F. Milliken, *History of Ontario County, N. Y., and Its People*. New York, 1911.

[28] Lewis Cass Aldrich, *History of Ontario County, N. Y.* Syracuse, N. Y., 1893.

[29] *Minutes of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston.*

[30] *Life and Letters of Justice Story*, by his son, Wm. H. Story. Boston, 1851.

was erected in 1773, and that "its premier teacher was an Irishman."[31] Evidently, he was a versatile individual, for we are told that he "occasionally preached to the people on the south side of the river." Even at "Plymouth of the Puritans" we find traces of an Irish schoolmaster. At a meeting of the Selectmen of Plymouth on September 9, 1782, the town treasurer was directed "to Collect from the several Collectors that are in Debt to the Towne the value of what is due from the Towne to their late Schoolmasters, viz: Messrs. Timothy Healey and Joseph Crocker."[32] While there is no other reference in the town books to these teachers and there is nothing to show what their nationality was, the name of Timothy Healey fully warrants the assumption that he was an Irishman. The town records of Worcester mention John Young, Schoolmaster, in the year 1757. The Young Genealogy shows that the schoolmaster was a native of County Donegal, Ireland. Butler Fogarty established a private school at Salem in 1792, and continued teaching there for many years.

The large Irish settlements in New Hampshire during the first half of the eighteenth century probably account for the many Irish schoolmasters who are recorded in the annals of the "Granite State" during that period. The town of Dover must have had considerable attractions for them, for besides John Sullivan, we find a number of his countrymen teaching school at Dover in its early days. One of them, Humphrey Sullivan, on February 19, 1733, "preferred a Petition to the Board Praying for £50 to be paid by ye Towne of Dover for his services there as Schoolmaster."[33] In all probability, this was the same Humphrey Sullivan, teacher of the youth of Hampton, N. H. On September 28, 1714, the Selectmen of Hampton chose a committee "to hire a Schoolmaster for the Town," and while the records do not show who was "hired," the name of the local teacher appears in the *Minutes of the Old Parish* under date of September 18, 1718, as "ye late Schoolmaster Humphrey Sullivan."[34]

Hercules Mooney, a native of Longford, Ireland, who is said to have been tutor to the family of an Irish nobleman, came to Dover in the year 1733 and, as is shown by the public records, was "engaged January 2, 1734, to teach school." He taught at Dover for sixteen years, and established a school at Durham, N. H., in 1751, which he continued until 1766, interrupted only by the period of his services in the French English war. As colonel of a New Hampshire battalion of the Continental Army, he served with distinction throughout the Revolution and after the War he resumed the practice of his profession in the town of Lee. "The record of Colonel Mooney and his sons, as schoolmasters, officers in the Seven Years War, in the War of the Revolu-

[31] Clara Skeele Palmer, *The Annals of Chicopee, Mass.* Springfield, Mass., 1899.

[32] *Plymouth Town Records*, Vol. iii.

[33] *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, Vol. iv, p. 88.

[34] Town Records of Hampton, N. H.

tion and in civil positions, was a notable one. Mooney was one of those men whom circumstances develop into leaders almost instantly when the exigences of the case demand them."[35]

Darby Kelly, "a bright quick-witted Irishman," was one of the first teachers of New Hampton, N. H., and, as the town historian says of him: "school teaching and fighting the French and Indians kept him busy!"[36] We find his name in connection with several land transactions at Exeter as early as 1728, and between 1748 and 1756 he served as a soldier in the French and Indian wars and when there was no more fighting to be done Darby Kelly quickly resumed his occupation of "guide and mentor" to the youth of New Hampton and the neighboring settlements.[37]

Edward Fitzgerald taught school at Boscawen, N. H., in 1734. He is described in the annals of the town as "a native of Ireland and a man of good education" and as "one of the most active and influential of the settlers of 1733."[38] A local historian[39] names him among "the first settlers at Boscawen." "John Carroll, an Irishman and a school-teacher," taught at Rye, N. H., in 1790.[40]

Rudolphus Greene was an early schoolmaster in New Hampshire. He is referred to as "an Irishman who was employed by the town of Peterborough to keep school a quarter of the year in each of the four quarters of the town."[41] At Weare, N. H., William Donovan was the town teacher in 1778, and a local historian tells us that, "after the Revolution there were a great number of foreigners teaching in the country and Irish schoolmasters were plenty in Weare."[42] Among these, he mentions Richard Adams and "Master" Donovan, the latter having been the "first to teach English grammar in the town;" and, from the same authority we learn that "the first school at East Weare was kept by Master O'Nail on the strict moral suasion plan."[43]

Maurice Lynch, a native of Galway, Ireland, began teaching at Antrim, N. H., in 1772 and continued there until 1777, when he joined the patriot army. He is described in the annals of the town as "a man of great wit, whose sayings lived locally for more than a century after his death" (1784). Tobias Butler, "clerk of the town of Antrim, in

[35] Ezra H. Stearns, *Genealogical and Family History of the State of New Hampshire*, p. 910.

[36] Frank H. Kelly, *Reminiscences of New Hampton, N. H.* Worcester, 1889.

[37] Town Records of Exeter, N. H.

[38] Charles C. Coffin, *Genealogical Records in History of Boscawen and Webster, N. H.* Concord, 1878.

[39] Rev. Ebenezer Price, *A Chronological Register of Boscawen, N. H.* Concord, 1823.

[40] Langdon B. Parsons, *History of the Town of Rye, N. H., From Its Discovery and Settlement to* 1903. Concord, 1905.

[41] J. H. Morrison, *Life of Jeremiah Smith, Chief Justice and Governor of New Hampshire.* Boston, 1845.

[42] W. Little, *History of the Town of Weare, N. H.* Lowell, Mass., 1888.

[43] *Ibid.*

1788," who was also from Galway, emigrated to America in 1771. He first settled at New Boston and from that town he enlisted in the army of the Revolution and "passed through many of the conflicts of New York." He opened a school at Antrim in 1786, which he maintained "for many years," and was known as "Old Master Butler" to the people of the surrounding country, whose children he trained for two generations. A town historian refers to him as "a man of fine education and exceedingly useful in his day."[44]

Edward Evans, a native of Sligo, kept a school at Salisbury, N. H., prior to the opening of the Revolutionary War. Teaching was not his only calling, for his name is found among the Salisbury volunteers who fought at the battle of Bunker Hill, and on the roster of the officers and soldiers of Colonel Stickney's New Hampshire regiment who fought at Bennington on August 16, 1777, is this entry: "Adjutant Edward Evans, who was Schoolmaster at Salisbury." After the War he established a school at Northfield, N. H., where, it is said, "Daniel Webster was one of his pupils."[45] Henry Parkinson is referred to in Northfield town records as "one of the oldest teachers" at that place. He also was an officer in the patriot army, and that he was a native of Ireland we may judge from the quaint Latin epitaph (said to have been written by himself) on his tombstone at Canterbury, N. H., where he died in 1820. It reads, "Hibernia begot me; Columbia nurtured me; Nassau Hall educated me; I have fought, I have taught, I have labored with my hands!"

Timothy Gleason is mentioned in Canterbury records as a school teacher, where, in 1790, he was paid for his services "in wheat, rye, and Indian corn." One of the town historians says "he came from Scotland, but was of Irish descent." We are told "he was often employed as a teacher in Northfield and other surrounding towns. He was a fine scribe and used to assist the Selectmen in making the taxes and keeping their accounts." Like so many others of his calling, he joined the Revolutionary Army and, according to his application for a pension in 1814, he served "from 1775 to the end of the campaign."

The first teacher at Francestown, N. H. (in 1781), was Richard Burke.[46] The first president of Bowdoin College was Joseph McKeen, "a man of fine acquirements and ripe scholarship," who opened a school at Londonderry, N. H., in 1774. He was a son of John McKeen, a native of Ballymoney, Ireland, who came to New Hampshire with the pioneer band of Irish immigrants who settled the town of Londonderry in the year 1719.

Patrick Quinlan taught school at Concord, N. H., before 1770.[47]

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[44] WARREN R. COCHRANE, *History of the Town of Antrim, N. H.* Manchester, N. H., 1880.

[45] THOMAS HAMILTON MURRAY, in *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society.*

[46] WARREN R. COCHRAN, *History of Francestown, N. H.* Nashua, 1895.

[47] NATHANIAL BOUTON, *A History of Concord, N. H., from Its First Grant in 1725 to 1853.* Concord, 1856.

Patrick Garvan was also an early tutor at Concord, and although the period that he flourished is not mentioned, I find his name on the roster of the local military company of the year 1746 as a defender of the garrison against the Indians. "Among the names of the early school teachers," says one of the historians of the town of Bedford,[48] "that of O'Neil is handed down as memorable." The period is not mentioned, but, one John O'Neil who appears on a list of "the first settlers of the town," in all probability was the schoolmaster. Luke Eagan also taught school at Bedford "about 1776 or 1777," and afterwards served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War.[49]

From the records of the town of New Boston we learn that "in 1769 the town erected a small building near the meeting house which was used as a school," and here we find Dennis Dunnivan teaching the youth of the district in the stirring days of 1776. Willian McNeill, of an Irish immigrant family, who settled at Londonderry and who taught at New Boston about the same time, fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill. "Master" Butler, school teacher at Nottingham, N. H., for many years after his arrival there in 1756, is described as "a man of great natural intellect and extensive information." He was a son of Malachi Butler, an Irishman, who settled at Windham, Conn., in the year 1720.

Among a number of interesting entries concerning schools and schoolmasters found in an old "account book of the Selectmen," still preserved among the town records of Chester, N. H., appear the following:

1750, Paid to Master John Hickey for Schooling.....	£88
1751, Paid to Master John Hickey for Schooling.....	£104
1761, Paid to John Crombie, two months.....	£100
1772, Master Donoven, 3 months and one week.....	£9. 15s.

There cannot be much doubt about the nationality of "Master John Hickey," and as to Crombie, the genealogical records of the town of Chester inform us that he was "a native of Ballymore, Ireland," and "Master Donoven," in all likelihood was the same old-time pedagogue already mentioned as the town teacher at Weare, N. H. Among other schoolmasters at Chester whose names appear in the town books were, Andrew Craig (1752), a native of Ireland, and Samuel Moore, who taught there in 1749 and in 1764 at the nearby town of Candia. Moore was a son of John Moore who came from Ireland to New Hampshire in the early part of the eighteenth century. The town also informs us that "George Russel, a native of Ireland," who served as a soldier in the American army after the battle of Lexington, "came to Chester after the war and turned pedagogue and for a long period taught in nearly all the schools in the Long Meadows." We are told he was "an able teacher" and "an accomplished man" and "was looked upon with about the same reverence that the minister was." Samuel Moore, referred to

[48] *Centennial History of the Town of Bedford, N. H.* 1850.
[49] *Ibid.*

as "an Irishman," taught at Derryfield, N. H., in 1797, succeeding John McLaughlin who was appointed town teacher in 1795.

One of the earliest teachers whose name appears on the records of the town of Kittery, Me., was Eugene Lynch who taught there in 1718,[50] and in some "Extracts from Kittery Point Town Records" of the year 1732,[51] mention is made of "John Maloney, Schoolmaster," with a payment to him of £80, for his services in that year.

The Gillpatricks, who were among the earliest settlers at Biddeford, Me., gave several noted teachers to that part of the country. The family came from Ireland in 1735. Miriam Gillpatrick, who was born at Limerick in 1767, taught at Biddeford; Joseph Gillpatrick conducted a school at Wells, another Joseph at Hollis, while still another of the family, Thomas Gillpatrick, is referred to as "one of the most noted teachers at Limerick and Limington, Me., having taught in no less than eleven town schools and five high schools in the Saco Valley."[52]

In 1750 the only school at Kennebunk, Me., was in charge of "Daniel Little, an Irishman." He appears to have been a man of much local influence, and we are informed by the town historian that "Master Little was one of the intellectual giants of the day." His successor at the Kennebunk school was "Daniel Moffatt, an Irishman." An entry on the town records of Kennebunkport of the year 1747 reads: "Mr. Samuel Murphy was chosen Scoole Master." He was a son of John Murphy, who served as an officer of a military company at the capture of Louisburg and four of whose sons, among them Samuel the "Scoole Master," served in the Revolutionary War. One of Samuel Murphy's successors at Kennebunkport was "Master Hickey," whose name appears on the tax list of the town of Kittery of the year 1752. One John Hickey, probably the same, is mentioned as teacher of a school at Cape Porpoise, Me., in 1766.

Silvester Murphy was a teacher at Pownalburgh and Sheepscott, Me., in 1775. Luke Reilly taught at Newry, Me., in 1781. A local historian says,[53] "he was a famous schoolmaster in his day and it was he who named the town Newry from the place in Ireland whence he came." In 1796, John O'Neil kept school at Canaan, Me.[54] An old time New England pedagogue named Sullivan is mentioned in local annals of Bristol and Bremen, Me., about the middle of the eighteenth century, but of whom definite information is hard to obtain. But, "Master Sullivan," who "came from Ireland to Broad Bay in the year 1737,"[55] is thought

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[50] EVERETT S. STACKPOLE, *Old Kittery and Her Families*. Lewiston, Me., 1893.

[51] D. M. SHAPLEIGH, in *Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder*, Vol. i.

[52] GIDEON T. RIDLON, *Saco Valley Settlements and Families*. Portland, Me., 1865.

[53] WILLIAM BARRY LAPHAM, *Centennial History of Norway and Oxford County, Me.* Portland, Me., 1886.

[54] JOHN W. HANSON, *History of the Old Towns of Norridgewock and Canaan, Me.* Boston, 1849.

[55] *Records* of the Court of Common Pleas at York, Me., under date of June 12, 1770.

to have been the schoolmaster. Martin Rourke, or O'Rourke, is mentioned as "the foremost schoolmaster of the town of Durham."[56] He was a native of Ireland and came to America in 1773 and served as a sergeant in the Revolutionary army at Ticonderoga and other engagements, and after the war he served for seventeen years as Town Clerk of Durham. At Buxton, Me., "Francis Morrissey and John Hearn from Ireland" taught schools in 1794,[57] and at this place we are told "Master Morrissey was employed in teaching for about fifteen years."[58]

At Thomaston, Me., John Sullivan, a native of Dublin, Ireland, opened a school in the year 1778.[59] Racy of the soil, Schoolmaster Sullivan was one of the native wits of the section. We are told "his love for science was pure and he was ever ready to aid others in its pursuit," and "his store of scientific and literary information, history and other anecdotes was inexhaustible."[60] It is evident that he was a valuable acquisition to the intellectual progress of the youth of the surrounding country, where he taught for many years. He may possibly have been the same John Sullivan whose name is found in the town records of Warren, Me., of the year 1792. The Warren Schoolmaster, we are told, had "made respectable attainments in science and possessed a highly cultivated taste in literature." As a teacher, "he excelled" and "was evidently a walking cyclopedia." Bartholomew Killeran was the schoolmaster of Warren in 1771.[61] The town historian says "he was highly esteemed for his amiable disposition and not the less so that in place of birch and ferule he was obliged to make use of loaf sugar to stimulate and encourage his pupils." His countryman, "John O'Brien from County Cork, Ireland," who conducted a school at Warren in 1782, was not so lenient with his pupils, for, while "he was an elegant penman and a good accountant, he was somewhat severe in the management of his scholars."[62] O'Brien's descendants were a noted family of shipbuilders and sailing masters on the Kennebeck river.

Robert Mathews, who first came from Ireland to Woburn, Mass., settled in Warren, where, we are told, "he was sometimes employed as a schoolmaster and in the French and Indian War (1755) he served for some time as a soldier." In 1788, "William Walsh, a native of Dublin, Ireland," was "hired to keep the town school at Thomaston for the term of twelve months," and in 1791 the town books indicate payments to him "for keeping school in the Northeast Meadow District." Another teacher employed at Thomaston about 1790 was "Thomas Emerson, a man of good education, an excellent penman and of respectable family in or near Limerick, Ireland." The names of several Irish school-

[56] Everett S. Stackpold, *History of Durham, Me.* Lewiston, Me., 1899.
[57] Eben Wentworth, in *Centennial History of the Town of Buxton, Me.* 1872.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Cyrus Eaton, *History of Thomaston and Rockland, Me.* Hallowell, Me., 1865.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren, Me.* Hallowell, Me., 1851.
[62] *Ibid.*

masters appear on the town records of Brunswick, Me. The pioneer teacher at that place was James McCashlen, who, in 1740, was paid £40 for his services as tutor. From the *Pejepscot Papers* we learn that "William McClanahan, an Irishman," taught school at Brunswick in the year 1741, and a well-known Maine historian[63] informs us that McClanahan first came to Belfast, Me., in the year 1734. In 1755, John Blake was employed as teacher at Brunswick and four years later he was succeeded by John Farrin, who seems to have taught there again in 1776, and he is on record in that year for returning the greater part of his salary to the town "in consequence of the public distresses and burdensome taxes." His father was a native of Dublin, Ireland, who settled at Ipswich, Mass., where the elder Farrin conducted a school for six years prior to his advent at Brunswick. Richard Flaherty is also mentioned as one of Brunswick's early schoolmasters, and in the *History of Cumberland County, Me.*,[64] it is related that in the year 1735 the inhabitants of Brunswick made application to the Government of Massachusetts for an act of incorporation as a town and among those who signed the petition was "Richard Flaherty, an Irish Schoolmaster."

"Thomas Crowell, an Irishman," taught at Brunswick, where he arrived from Ireland "soon after the Revolution."[65] We learn that "he was a man of good education and soon after his arrival he engaged in teaching school and for more than a score of years he taught in the eastern part of this town."[66]

In Reed's *History of Bath, Me.*, the author in referring to the early times, says: "The children of the inhabitants had good teachers. One particularly, Master O'Brien, who was educated in Edinburgh, Scotland, was a gentleman and an excellent scholar." In the early days of the New England towns, in order to establish a private school it was necessary for the "Master" to receive the approval of, and permit his school to be subject to supervision by, the local authorities, and in the town records may be seen references to teachers who failed to comply with this regulation and who were obliged to abandon the attempt and remove to some other place, where they could follow their calling without official "red tape." Willis[67] says that "in 1761 great excitement was produced in the town by the conduct of a schoolmaster named Richmond. He was an Irishman. In 1761, he was bound over to appear before the Court of General Sessions to answer his being presented for setting up and keeping school in Falmouth, without the approbation of the Selectmen." Master McMahon evidently was more in favor than his unfortunate countryman, or perhaps was not so obstinate in complying with the regulations, for we are told

[63] William Willis, *History of Portland, Me.* Portland, 1865.

[64] W. W. Clayton. Philadelphia, 1880.

[65] *Town Records.*

[66] From a Paper read before the Brunswick Historical Society, by Sumner L. Holbrook. Cf. Wheeler, *History of Brunswick, Me.* Boston, 1878.

[67] Wm. Willis, *History of Portland, Me.* Portland, 1865.

that "in 1767, William McMahon, an Irishman, opened a school at Stroudwater and afterwards kept at Woodford's Corners for several years, where Portland boys were sent out to him." "John Mitchell, a native of Ireland," was one of the early schoolmasters at Belfast, Me.[68] The town historian also refers to "John Barrett, school teacher, who came to Londonderry from Ireland in 1719." There is no record, as far as I can find, to his having taught school at Belfast, but he is thought to have followed that calling. In the immediate vicinity of Belfast, in the towns of Waldo and Searsmont, one Lewis Ryan taught school in the early years of the last century, and Michael Ryan taught at Rockland in 1778.[69] The first teachers at Vinalhaven, Me., of whom we have any record were "John O'Brien, who escaped from the British service,"[70] and Michael Bowen, who served with some distinction in the War of the Revolution, and who settled at Vinalhaven, where we are told "his business was farming and school teaching."[71] Both were natives of Cork, Ireland. The first teacher on record at Monmouth, Me., was "William Lowney, who performed the important duties of the ancient pedagogue in the local public school." The town records do not inform us what his nationality was, but that he was an Irishman, is seen from the remark of the local historian that "his only drawback was the brogue he brought from Erin."[72] John Magner, who "came from Dublin, Ireland, about 1791," was "noted for his smartness in school teaching" and it was he who "taught the first school in the town of Greene."[73] Thomas Boyd, "born in Ireland in 1748," was one of the pioneer teachers at Boothbay, Me.,[74] and "Master Kennard from Ireland" came to Windham in 1781 and "was employed by the people of the town as a teacher for many years."[75] John Patterson, who taught at Windham in 1773, is also described as "an Irishman."[76] The youth of the little colony of Rhode Island profited well by the advent of the Irish schoolmaster. Rev. James MacSparran was a leading teacher in Rhode Island from 1721 to 1747, and one whose educational influence had much to do with the founding of Rhode Island College, now called Brown University, and "it is a singular fact," declares Guild, in his history of that institution, that "the first funds of the College were obtained from Ireland." Dr. MacSparran was a native of Dungiven, County Derry, and was one of the noted Gaelic scholars of his time.

[68] JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, *History of the City of Belfast, Me.* Portland, 1913.

[69] Town Register of Searsmont, Me.

[70] *Brief Historical Sketch of the Town of Vinalhaven, Me.* Rockland, Me., 1900.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] H. H. COCHRANE, *History of the Towns of Monmouth and Wales, Me.* East Winthrop, Me., 1894.

[73] A. W. TINKHAM, in the Winthrop, Me., *Budget*, 1891.

[74] FRANCIS B. GREENE, *Boyd Genealogy, in History of Boothbay, Me.* Portland, 1906.

[75] *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, 2d Ser., Vol. ix.

[76] *Ibid.*

George Taylor, a native of Limerick, was appointed schoolmaster of the town of Providence in the year 1735 and continued teaching there until his death in 1781. An obituary notice of him in the Providence *Gazette* said: "he was an honor to the country that gave him birth." The name of Stephen Jackson appears in the records of the town as a teacher in the year 1745. He was born in Kilkenny in 1700 and, as he said himself, he "left Ireland to escape the political persecutions." John Dorrance, son of Irish immigrants, was a private tutor at Providence in 1774. A notice of his death[77] said "he was a man of unblemished integrity and undeviating patriotism and for many years was a member of the Rhode Island Legislature." Terence O'Reilly kept a school at Providence in 1788[78] and probably for several years before that time, for I find his name in the town records as early as 1770. James Wilson, described as "an Irishman," taught there in 1791 and John Phelan in 1792. The "Town Book" of Triverton, R. I., under date of August 15, 1743, shows that Benjamin Delaney was appointed "Town Schoolmaster for ye year insuing," and John and Samuel Healey are mentioned among "the early teachers" of the nearby town of Pawtucket.[79] One of the earliest teachers at Westerly, of whom tradition or the records speak, was an Irishman named Thomas Slattery, who set up a private school there a short time after the Revolutionary war. A local historian refers to him as "a man of extensive learning for his day."[80] "Old Master Kelly," described as "one of the earliest school teachers in Rhode Island," taught for many years at South Kingston. We are told that "Master Kelly was an Irishman and noted for his love of a good joke, a good dinner and his courtesy of manner." In 1751, Terence Donnelly was engaged by the town of Newport as schoolmaster and two of the "old-time pedagogues of Rhode Island," named Crocker and Knox, who kept school at Bowen's hill after the Revolution, were natives of Ireland.[81] The name of Berkeley, the famous Bishop of Cloyne, County Cork, is inseparably linked with early educational efforts in New England. He was born in Kilkenny in 1688, and in his fortieth year he came to Rhode Island for the purpose of founding a college, and although his efforts were frustrated, through the intrigues of an English nobleman, the historians all admit that his presence in this country for several years gave great stimulus to literary and scientific exertion. He was a liberal benefactor to Yale and Harvard Colleges and after his return to Ireland he sent to Yale a choice collection of the best works extant on the different branches of learning. These books are still preserved at Yale University. Some historical writers

[77] In *Providence Gazette* of July 3, 1813.

[78] *Providence Gazette*, February 2, 1789.

[79] Rev. Massena Goodrich, *Historical Sketches of Pawtucket, R. I.* Pawtucket, 1876.

[80] Frederick Denison, in *Westerly and Its Witnesses for 250 Years—1626 to 1876.* Providence, 1878.

[81] J. R. Cole, *History of Washington and Kent Counties, R. I.* New York, 1889.

attribute to England the honor of his fame. While his family is said to have been, in far back time, a branch of that of which the Earls of Berkeley were the heads, it had been settled in Ireland for many generations, and to that country, and to no other, belongs the distinction of having produced this illustrious educator and benefactor of Irish and American institutions.

It has not been the aim of this article to locate or discuss all of the early Irish teachers in New England, for the limitations of space render that impossible. Apart from those named herein, it is known that many other Irish schoolmasters flourished in New England in the olden days, although in most cases only fleeting glimpses of their names are obtainable from local annals, and there now remains no earthly record of the character of their services or how long they continued in their respective stations. Indeed, the records of many of the early teachers have all the sadness of a tombstone inscription, little to say beyond the name, date or place, and in most cases their names are recalled only in local tradition. Many of the Irish schoolmasters are seen to have conducted private or "select" schools, which often were more advanced than the "common" schools, and in many places a large number of the pupils who attended the private schools were the children of the well-to-do. This, in itself, is one of the best compliments which history can pay them, for it indicates that the Irish schoolmasters were considered more competent tutors than those who taught the common schools. In the early times, it was seldom that studies were permitted in the common schools beyond spelling, reading and writing, and arithmetic was taught by comparatively few instructors. From numerous advertisements by Irish schoolmasters in the colonial newspapers, it is seen that they usually announced their readiness to teach "reading, writing, arithmetic, surveying and the principal branches of mathematics," and in many instances "the Latin and Greek languages," thus indicating that they were more finished scholars than the ordinary teachers of the time. Indeed, in examining the early records, especially public documents written by men who occupied eminent positions during and after the Revolution, whose education was obtained from the private schools, one cannot but be surprised at the general intelligence and strength of intellect they display. As already stated, this subject is one that has been much neglected in history. This is not as it should be,

for the story of the early Irish schoolmasters of the country furnishes an important chapter in American history, and it is proper that Americans should know that Irish culture helped to embellish the minds of their fathers with the graces and treasures of learning. All the early benefactors of this country are not to be found among statesmen and soldiers, for the schoolmasters are also entitled to be so designated. They sought neither wealth nor place, and their emoluments were small. Many of them performed their tasks in remote and wild settlements. They consecrated their lives to the uplift of youth and gave themselves unselfishly and patriotically to the service of their country and humanity.

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MISCELLANY

I

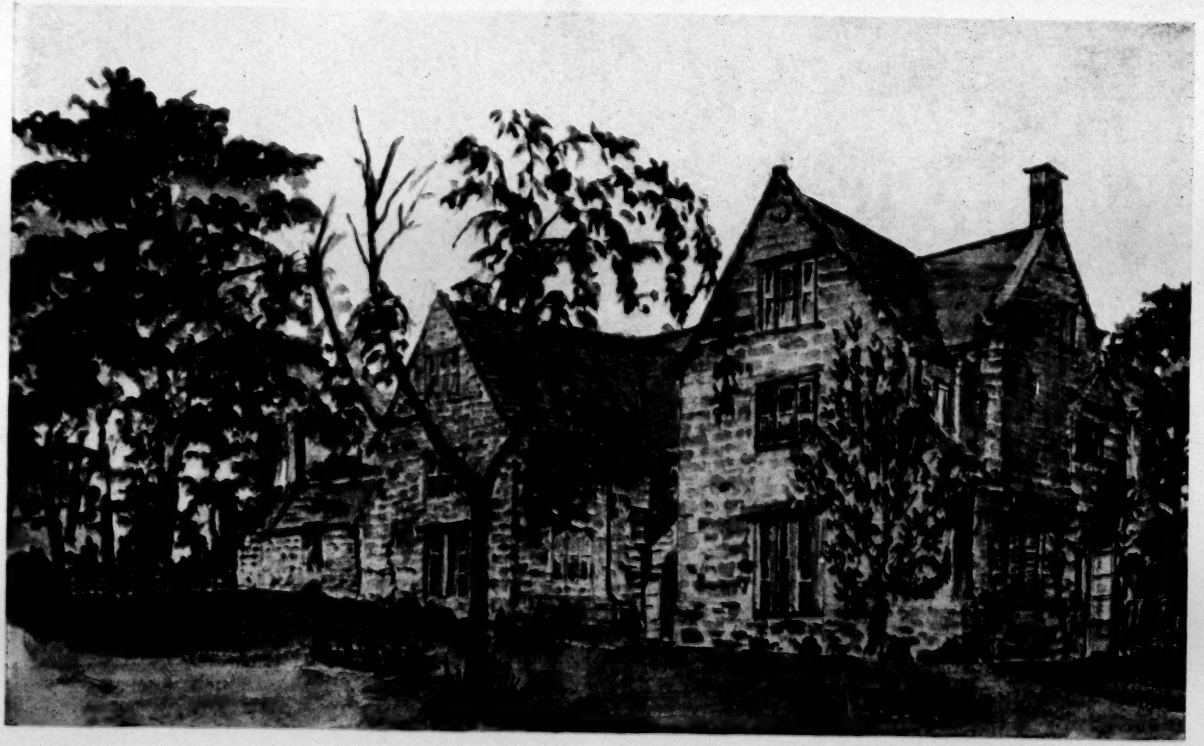
BALTIMORE HOUSE NEAR TISBURY, WILTSHIRE, ENGLAND

The home of Cecilius Calvert, second Baron Baltimore, and first Proprietary Governor of Maryland Colony, is still standing. It was presumably from its doors that Leonard and George Calvert started on the memorable expedition of 1633, by which the colony was founded. It was hence that Lord Baltimore issued those strict ordinances for the regulation of the Colony.

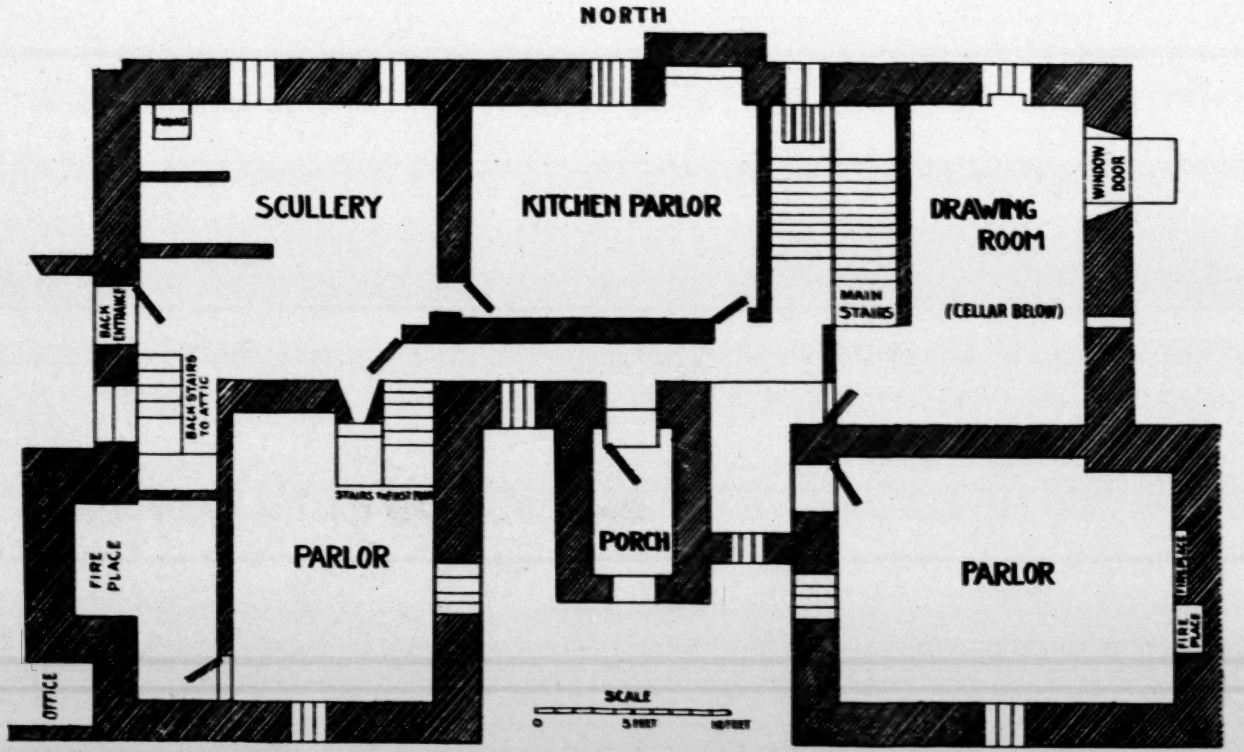
In 1628 Cecilius married Anne, one of the daughters of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour. With her he received the mansion house which is our present subject, together with Hook Farm which is adjacent to it, as well as other property: but the terms and title by which he held them I do not know. In later years the mansion was called "the Dower-house" of the Arundells, whose old castle of Wardour was then still standing intact, a mile or so distant, on the opposite side of the valley formed by the little river Noddre or Nadder.

Cecilius succeeded to the barony of Wardour on the death of his father George, April 15, 1632. So the name Baltimore House must have come in after that, and probably at once. Leonard and George departed the next year, while Cecilius continued to reside here during the important negotiations of the ensuing years. But with the Civil Wars there came a change. Wardour and its neighborhood became the scene of severe fighting. In 1643 the gallant Lady Blanche defended the medieval castle bravely, in spite of its being untenable for long against mining and artillery. The Castle fell, but the Roundheads were in time ousted again by the third Lord Arundell, who was, in turn, constrained to yield to the victorious Parliamentarians. What became of Baltimore House during all this hard fighting, I do not know. Lord Baltimore is mentioned casually as having been in the Parliamentary camp, perhaps as an intermediary, then with the king. When, under Cromwell's stern rule, order of some sort was being restored, we find a whole series of proceedings regarding the mansion and estate. Documents belonging to these proceedings are extant at the Record Office in London, and an inventory of them is published in the *Calendars of the Committee for Compounding.*[1]

[1] *The Calendars of the Committee for the Advance of Money,* (Cases) contain several references to Lord Baltimore, esp. p. 514. They begin in 1644. In 1649, all his property in London, Middlesex, Wilts, Hants, Dorset and York was ordered to be seized. Details of further proceedings are given in the *Calendars of the Committee for Compounding:* Section *Cases,* pp. 3269 to 3271. Notes are given of some 45 records. The records themselves are extant in MS. at the Record Office.



BALTIMORE HOUSE, TISBURY, ENGLAND



FLOOR PLAN OF BALTIMORE HOUSE

We here find that both Lord Arundell and Lord Baltimore had had their estates forfeited for deliquency and recusancy, but both had to some extent compounded, and each had put a tenant into Hook Farm and the accompanying "Mansion." Lord Baltimore's tenant was one Weeks: Lord Arundell's was Blandford. Eventually, after six years of pleading (May 3, 1650, to May 8, 1655), Blandford was confirmed, though Lord Baltimore had urged "that he had been at great expenses, repairing the mansion house and re-stocking the farm."[2]

After the seizure of his property in 1649 or 1650, Lord Baltimore appears to have left the house and district. The death of his wife, Anne Arundell, who was buried at Tisbury in 1649,[3] may have had a good deal to say to this, as the property presumably came with her. The Baltimores seem to have lived near London after this,[4] and most of them are buried there. Charles, the third lord, was deprived of Maryland, on account of his Catholic faith, at the Revolution in 1689; but Benedict, the fourth lord, having turned Protestant in 1713, was at once confirmed again in the grant. The family died out in 1771.

After the Restoration (1660), we may assume that the Hook Farm property and house returned to the Arundells, and that they again used it as their "Dower-house." I do not find mention of it in any lists, such as those of the *Estates of Catholics in* 1718, but I believe that towards the end of the eighteenth century it became the residence of the estate agent of Lord Arundell, who was at that time a very large landowner. In the nineteenth century the mansion became permanently the farm-house and even its manorial name is generally forgotten. The wife of the present holder, Mr. Field, told me that three generations of her progenitors had lived under its roof, while two generations of descendants are now residing there with her.

Before we turn to the house itself, a reference to the still remoter past may be interjected.

The house lies in the parish of Semley, which was given by King Edwy in 955 to the Abbess of Wilton. A later abbess surrendered it to Henry VIII, March 25, 1539. In Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*, IV, ii, 24, various royal accounts of the property are quoted, and in these Hook Farm is mentioned separately for the first time in 1580. There may

[2] If one takes these law-deeds precisely, it would seem that there was a good deal of quarrelling between the Calverts and the Arundells. But the real significance of the legal proceedings may, after all, have been quite different.

[3] The inscription on her grave is in HOARE, IV, i, p. 140.

[4] On 14 December, 1660, the papal agent Agretti wrote from London, "I went to see the Baron of Baltimore in a country house of his near London, and we talked together with Father (Philip) Howard." *Cf.* T. HUGHES, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, I, p.. 197.

be some connection between this and the building of the present house.

And now for a brief survey of the building, the question which we have to keep before us being this—does the structure remain substantially as the Calverts left it?

The main features of the house, the simple yet graceful outline, the moderate height, the very thick walls, the mullion windows, the sloping chimneys, at once suggest an early date, Elizabethan rather than Jacobean. In the attics there is a low-pointed doorway, not much later, I fancy, than 1550, and this I take to be somewhere about the date of the original structure. The limits of that first building are clearly marked by a thickening of about four inches in the outside wall, carried up from the foundation to two feet above the ground. This stone dado skirts all round the house, running inside the porch, and the sheds now adjacent on the west, which are thereby proved to be additions. Moreover from this indication alone, one might safely infer that the house, as a whole, does substantially remain in its original state. The roof is the only modern thing that meets the eye. It is of red tiles, put on four years ago. Before that the house had been slated, but originally it had been roofed with slabs of stone. The great thickness of the walls (about two feet nine inches at their base) shows that they were built to carry a very heavy weight. There are signs of several interior alterations, the chief of which I take to have been the work of Cecilius Lord Baltimore himself. The object in view was evidently to modify the primitive simplicity of the original house. In country houses of the Tudor period, people lived, worked, and slept together in large rooms or galleries to an extent which a later generation found very inconvenient. Originally, when you entered by the front door, you were in the hall itself; or if you came in by the back door, you were at once in the kitchen. Upstairs you passed through one bedroom to the other. No porches, no passages, no ante-chambers. This has been very cleverly altered with the minimum of structural change. By cutting through a corner here and altering a door there, with the addition of a few partition-walls, one can now come in and pass up to the furthest sleeping room or attic, without trespassing on the privacy of anyone. More interesting still, from the architect's point of view, is the insertion of fire-places and chimneys in the back rooms.[5] In primitive houses the rooms of servants, etc., were often fireless. We now find that two strong and heavy chimneys have been inserted. One

[5] My survey was not sufficiently prolonged to ascertain why the back rooms were originally fireless. Perhaps these back rooms were at first the rear parts of what are now front rooms; in which case they might have been heated (however imperfectly) by the front-room fires.

of these, near the northeast corner, is very ingeniously constructed, from the inside. It is founded in the cellar, and runs up, following a line of windows now filled in with thin, early bricks. The second chimney, as the masonry shows, has been added from the outside. On the ground floor, the old hall fire-place has been pushed backwards into it. The mouldings of the ancient jambs are still discernible behind the modern kitchen-range, and they are identical with the mouldings on the front doorway. This proves that they are original, though now pushed out into the later chimney. To think that these alterations were the work of Lord Baltimore himself seems to me not unreasonable. The old brick used may well have been of his period, and a stronger argument might have been made out of his own claim to have made "great expenses" in his repairs. For, we cannot discern any other alterations save these, which could have called for great expenses.

The most modern alteration is the insertion of long French windows on the east side, which open into the lawn. This is probably eighteenth-century work. The porch is interesting. It has been built over the front door, and covers some of its mouldings, and also the stone dado, and it is, therefore, clearly later than the rest. It bears the only inscription on the house, but one that baffles us for the moment. On the outside is incised a heart, within which the date 1655 over the letters I. B. When we remember that it was exactly in this year, 1655, that this house was confirmed to Mr. Blandford after so many pleadings, we might feel confident that his name must be signified by the initial B. But then Blandford's Christian name was Stephen. Why, then, the I. in the inscription, and why the heart? I have no information wherewith to answer these questions,[6] and so for the time must give up the precise interpretation of the signs. But a vaguer general significance remains. It conveys to us that in 1655, after so many years of public and private trouble, this porch was built to commemorate the entrance into loving domestic life of I. B., whoever he or they may be. The date shows that we have already passed the Baltimore period.

These few structural points, taken in connection with the historical evidence already cited, strongly confirm the tradition that this house is in truth the very mansion inhabited by Lord Baltimore at the time of the colonization of Maryland. There are indeed alterations, but they rather enhance the evidence for the tradition. They do this partly because they improve away the deficiencies usual in still earlier

[6] The heart cannot be of heraldic significance, especially as it has date and initials within it. The Blandford family are not mentioned in Marshal's *Guide*. They were probably local farmers, not armigerous.

buildings; partly because they were presumably initiated, if not executed, by Lord Baltimore himself.

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II

THE BENAVIDES MEMORIALS

The American historical world gave a hearty welcome to Mrs. Ayer's translation of the *Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides* (1630), not only because it is one of the scarcest of all *Americana*, but especially because this particular volume had gone through the skilled hands of Charles Fletcher Lummis and Frederick Webb Hodge. The elaborate notes by these two scholars are really a book in themselves and are rich in information and guidance for the student. The only regret was that the edition was private and limited to three hundred copies. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hodge, a copy was sent to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and a review of the volume appeared in the July, 1916, issue. Those interested in the subject for which the *Memorial* is an indispensable source: namely, the Church in the Southwest, will appreciate the value of a second *Memorial*, dated four years later (February 12, 1634), from the Propaganda Archives, which exists in photostatic copy among Dr. Guilday's *American Church History Manuscripts*, at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Along with the *Propaganda Memorial* are other collateral documents which treat of the same object. The relationship of the two *Memorials* is not exactly definable. Probably the *Propaganda Memorial* is a revision of the *Ayer Memorial;* but; if so, the former does not supersede the latter. It supplements in a certain measure the printed book by the addition of some valuable biographical and ethnological data. The printed *Memorial* remains an historical source of the first order, but scholars who wish to use it should know of the supplementary redaction. One of Dr. Guilday's students—the Rev. Virgil G. Michel, O.S.B.—is preparing the 1634 *Memorial* for publication. The following description will aid the reader to judge the comparative value of these manuscripts:

1. **The Ayer Memorial.**—This is a printed copy, very probably abridged and mutilated by the Spanish publisher or by someone else, of a Report on New Mexico, presented by Father Benavides, Guardian of the Franciscan missions there, to Philip IV of Spain, on the occasion of his visit to the mother country in 1630. It has not the systematic treatment of the later *Memorial*. It omits the names of the missionaries as a rule, and contains only incidental references to their work. It is more of a physical geography than a history, and was written to encourage the king to assist the missionaries to develop the country. It contains considerable information about the natural resources of the

land that is not found in the later work, but on the whole it is much briefer, less clear, and somewhat less valuable to the historian, since it not infrequently omits details that would vouch for the authenticity of its statements. There is sufficient evidence of this in the notes of the commentators to the present edition, passing adverse judgment on certain passages, the apparent weaknesses of which are cleared up in the Propaganda *Memorial*.

2. The **Propaganda Memorial** of February 12, 1634.—This was written at the request of Pope Urban VIII, and is in the hand-writing and bears the signature of Benavides himself. It was prepared for the information of the Holy Father concerning the missions, and with a view to obtaining extensive new privileges and the confirmation of old ones. It therefore lays stress on the extent and hardships of the work, and on the number of martyrs. Evidently, Benavides had the previous *Memorial* (the Ayer edition) before him when he wrote, although, strangely enough, he makes no reference to it, while he mentions his *Historia* twice. (One mention of this work was made in the first *Memorial:* there he said that with the help of God he was trying to write it at that time.) The Propaganda *Memorial* has, on the whole, a more interesting style than its prototype. It follows the history of the missions, and presents the physical features of the country as incidents to that work. It should have great historical value on account of its unimpeachable authenticity, its critical spirit, its wide scope of facts, and its freedom from the restrictions of a contemporary publisher. It pays a silent tribute to the scholarship of the learned annotators of the Ayer *Memorial*, by verifying many of their conclusions, although at times there is a wide divergence from their interpretation of the first text.

3. **Relazione delle conversione del Novo Messico . . . April 11, 1917.**—This is a summary, prepared by Benavides for the Propaganda, of his larger *Memorial* written for the Pope. It contains some details, however, that are not in the larger *Memorial*. It was poorly translated into Italian for Benavides, and signed by him. This suggests a Spanish counterpart that has not yet appeared, and points to the presence of Benavides in Rome at the time it was presented.

4. **Ristretto della Relazione . . . dal Pre. Benavides.**—This undated document seems to be a synopsis of the brief Italian *Relazione* (No. 3 above). It was made apparently as a summary introduction to the request for privileges made by Benavides. All the matter contained in the body of the *Ristretto* seems to be contained in the *Relazione*, with the exception of the last part, which is taken from the Spanish *Privilegios para las Indias*, appended to the *Ristretto* (noted below, No. 7).

5. **Ricordo Importante.**—This brief document, which is made a part of the *Ristretto*, deals with the English and Dutch colonies on the Atlantic coast and contains interesting and useful information; and, since no Spanish counterpart to it has been found, it suggests again the presence of Benavides in Rome, and his active attendance at the offices of the Propaganda during the presentation of his requests.

6. **Verificazione.**—This is a notarial appendix to the *Ristretto* for its authentication, and lists the testimonial letters presented by Benavides to the Propaganda.

3399

7. Privilegios para las Indias.—This undated document, in Spanish and in the handwriting of Benavides, appears to be the complement of the *Relazione* (No. 3), and again suggests a lost counterpart to the latter. It requests the confirmation of previous privileges and the erection of the bishopric of Santa Fe. It suggests the date for the *Ristretto*, for it requests action before the end of June, when Benavides will sail for the Indies, and since the document which it supplements was presented on April 11, the *Ristretto* must have been made shortly afterwards.

8, 9, 10. These three documents, though still undiscovered, should be listed for the purpose of comparison. The first of these is the important *Historia* noted above (No. 2); the other two are the respective Spanish originals of the *Relazione* and the *Ricordo Importante*.

The order of the documents in the Propaganda Archives is as follows: (1) The *Ristretto*, with its appendices, the *Ricordo Importante* and the *Verificazione;* (2) the *Privilegios para las Indias;* (3) the *Relazione;* (4) the *Memorial* of February 12, 1634. The chronological order of the whole series should be: (1) the Ayer *Memorial;* (2) the *Historia;* (3) the Propaganda *Memorial;* (4) the Spanish original of the *Relazione;* (5) the Spanish original of the *Ricordo Importante;* (6) the *Privilegios para las Indias;* (7) the *Relazione;* (8) the *Ristretto;* (9) the *Ricordo Importante;* (10) the *Verificazione*.

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Washington, D. C.

DOCUMENTS

A BISHOP FOR THE INDIANS IN 1790

Students of American Catholic history have long since grown familiar with the various projects which originated in Europe shortly after the Treaty of Paris (1783) for the purpose of controlling the rising Catholic hierarchy in the United States. During the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) all ecclesiastical relations between the Vicars Apostolic of the London District and the American Catholic priests and people ceased. Bishop Challoner had passed away on January 10, 1781, and his successor, Bishop Talbot, either through patriotism or indolence, declined to exercise any jurisdiction over the young American Church. Carroll's appointment as Prefect Apostolic in 1784 was preceded by two important historical events: first, the petition from the American clergy to the Holy Father, Pius VI, dated November 10, 1783, in which they asked the Holy Father to separate them from England, but in which they hinted that they were not yet ready for a Bishop to be placed over them; secondly, the French project, in which Benjamin Franklin allowed himself to be imprudently led, of appointing a French Vicar Apostolic over the American Church, who would reside in France and rule the clergy from afar. The Papal Nuncio in Paris was to act as Ordinary for the American Missions. Plans had even been drawn up to begin an American College at Bordeaux to furnish these missions with priests. The news of this apparent intrigue reached the priests in Maryland in the Spring of 1784, and great relief was expressed when Carroll was appointed Prefect-Apostolic, in June of that year. On November 6, 1789, the See of Baltimore was erected and Carroll appointed its first Bishop. His consecration followed on August 15, 1790. It was during this period of Carroll's Prefectship over the Church in the United States that two interesting attempts were made to establish bishoprics which would have apparently been independent of Baltimore—the one, the attempt to found the French See of Gallipolis in April-May, 1790, and the other, which is here described for the first time, the attempt to have a separate episcopal see at Oneida Castle, N. Y., for the Six Nations, in April-August, 1790. This strange project, as Shea says, "is one of the most curious episodes in our history." The object of those who engineered the scheme was no less than the foundation of a Indian Primacy over the Six Nations of New York. The Oneida tribe seems to have constituted itself the spokesman for the rest of the Nations and the documents which follow show how definite the plan had become before the appeal was made to Rome.

The Oneida Indians were a tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy, occupying the territory around and about Oneida Lake in Oneida County, N. Y. They consisted of three clans—the *Wolf*, the *Turtle*, and the *Bear*, and each clan was represented, as will be seen in the signatures to the documents published below, by three members. The Six Nations mentioned in these documents consisted of the tribes of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks, Senecas, Cayu-

gas, and the Tuscaroras.[1] The Six Nations were friendly towards the missionaries, and one of the best-known chapters in Jesuit missionary labors is that of the Iroquois Missions. In 1667, a Jesuit Mission was founded at Oneida by Father Bruyas, who erected a chapel there, dedicating it to St. Francis Xavier, in September, 1667. Missions existed among the Six Nations, with long intervals occasioned by the inter-tribal wars, down to the period covered in the documents listed below. The *Jesuit Relations* contain many important documents describing the work done among the Oneidas by the Society of Jesus. The early missionaries speak of them as being the most civilized of the Five Nations—a claim which they make for themselves in the letter to Pius VI. "They are demons when they are attacked," wrote one of the Jesuits in 1653, "but the gentlest and most affable people in the world, when they are treated as friends."[2]

Shea's story of the origin of this extraordinary project of erecting a See for the Six Nations is taken mostly from Hough's *Notices of Peter Penet.*[3] Though Penet's name is not mentioned in any of the documents published here, it is probably true, as Hough surmises, that the project originated with him. Penet was a native of France who had come to the United States in 1775 for the purpose of supplying the Continental Army with arms and ammunition. He succeeded in making an impression on General Washington, who had him nominated aide-de-camp, but the plan of supply never materialized. In 1783 he was trading as a merchant in Philadelphia and had gained considerable control over the Oneida chiefs, whom he pursuaded in believing that he was an ambassador from the King of France. Shea says that he induced the tribe to apply to the French Minister at New York, Count de Moustier, in 1787, for a priest.[4] But from Governor Clinton's letter,[5] dated September 12, 1789, it would appear that the priest in question, Father Perrot, was brought by Penet to the Indians. Father Perrot took up his residence at Oneida Castle, and remained until the following year. "As to what he accomplished in reviving the earlier teachings of the Catholic missionaries," says Shea, "we know nothing."[6] His stay among the Oneidas might have been lost sight of completely, had he not been bitterly opposed by the well-known Calvinist minister, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who speaks very severely of the Jesuit in his letters.[7] Perrot is not mentioned in the documents published below, and there is likewise no mention of him, nor of any priest in fact, in the *Plan of Government*, drawn up by Penet,

[1] Usually these tribes are spoken of as the Five Nations. The Tuscaroras were a southern tribe, and are supposed to have joined the Five Nations about 1714. After this date the Confederacy is called the Six Nations. Cf., DRAKE, *The Book of the Indians of North America*, v, p. 2. Boston, 1834.

[2] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. xl, p. 91.

[3] FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, *Notices of Peter Penet and His Operations among the Oneida Indians, including a Plan prepared by him for the Government of that Tribe.* Louisville, N. Y., 1866. Cf. SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. ii, p. 373*ff*.

[4] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 373.

[5] HOUGH, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[6] SHEA, *ibid.*

[7] Cf. LOTHROP, *Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians*, p. 293. Boston, 1847. (SPARK'S *American Biography*, Vol. xxv.) TRACY, *Notices of Men and Events connected with the Early History of Oneida County*, p. 200. New York, 1882.

which appeared in the Albany *Gazette* in February, 1789.[8] Whether there is any connection between the project of Penet and that which seems to center around the agent Jean de la Mahotière, the documents do not state; but if we are to believe the facts related in Kirkland's letters and those related about the "Lost Dauphin," the Rev. Eleazar Williams, who was a missionary among the Oneidas,[9] it is strange to find so thoroughly a Presbyterian body as the Oneidas writing that they were entirely Catholic and had obtained the departure of the Anglican and Presbyterian ministers in April, 1789,[10] and that they had made arrangements to have two priests from Canada to take charge of divine worship until the arrival of the six Capuchins who were to accompany Mahotière back to New York.

I

SUPPLICATIO ONEIDEAE NATIONIS AD PIUM VI.

April 25, 1789

(Original)[11]

The earliest of these four documents in point of time is an appeal sent by the representatives of the three tribes—the Wolves, the Turtles, and the Bears—to the Holy Father, Pius VI, dated April 25, 1789, and probably written at Oneida Castle. The document is in Latin, and from a note at the bottom of the same, it is evident that it was interpreted to the nine chiefs who signed it by one Nicholas Jourdain, who seems to have been an official interpreter for the Six Nations. It begins with the general statement that the highest good of man here below is to possess the true faith and that no one can come to the knowledge of the faith except through the Roman Catholic Church, whose head, the Supreme Pontiff, is the Vicar of Christ on earth. Communion with the Church was the earnest desire of the Oneidas; and, although they were undeservedly regarded by Europeans as savages and uncivilized, nevertheless they possessed a culture of their own, which was far greater than was generally known; and they ardently wished to be numbered among the children of the Church. The Oneidas were the principal nation of the famous Six Nations, and in a general council of these Nations, their leaders, warriors, old men, women and children had determined to send an appeal to the Holy Father, asking him to provide them with a bishop, who would be at the same time Primate of the Six Nations. For this post the Supreme Council had chosen John Louis Victor Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, whom they had adopted as one of their own, and who was in every way worthy of this exalted dignity. The document was signed by the nine Oneida chiefs, and was then interpreted to the Six Nations by Nicholas Jourdain, an adopted Frenchman, whose Indian name was Shakerad.

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[8] The Penet *Plan* will be found in HOUGH, *op. cit.*, pp. 24*ss*.

[9] Cf. BLOOMFIELD, *The Oneidas*, p. 98*ff*. New York, 1907.

[10] "Il a obtenu de la nation des Oneida le renvoi des ministres anglicans et presbyteriens comme n'aians plus parmi elle ni troupeaux, ce qui a été executé le mois d'avril 1789."

[11] *Archivio di Propaganda Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii, fol. 401–403. The four documents are left exactly as they appear in the photographic copies. No corrections of spelling or of grammar have been made.

Pro uno oneideae nationis Episcopo et sex nationum Primate

Supplicatio oneideae nationis indicae ad Vestram Sanctitatem Pium VI. Summum Ecclesiae Pontificem. Romae.

Sanctissime Pater

Istam [?] habere veram religionem primum est hominis bonum, sicut fides est primum bonum supernaturale: donum coeleste ad quod nemo pervenire potest nisi per aditum ad Ecclesiam Catholicam, apostolicam romanam, cujus gubernacula tenet ejus visibile Caput Summus Romanus Pontifex, Christi in terris Vicarius! Hujus vestrae sanctae Communionis gratiam ferventer appetunt, sanctissime pater, homines illi quos tam immerito europaei dixerunt agrestes ac feros; ii quippe ii in societates grandes, seu nationes, antiquitatis primas numeroque stupendas congregati, immensis americani continentis terris dominantur et imperant quae ab americanis finibus ad australia et occidentalia usque maria patent, easque hominibus liberis, familiis, villis, vicis atque pagis cum omnium inter omnes communitate summaque in parentes et seniores pietate frequentant.

Ardentissimo praesentim in fidem christianam studio flagrant, sanctissime pater, nationis illius indicae populi qui oneidaei dicti, gallicè *les oneida*, proximi sunt septentrionales Americanarum ditionum fines numeranturque et sunt prima e quinque illis celeberrimis nationibus, coeterarum omnium debellatoribus, vulgo dictis *nationes quinque;* populi oneidaei statuta mente se ad officia civilia rite informandi, jam ratum habuerunt unum gubernationis modum aeque numeris omnibus absolutum ac sibi plene accomodatum, illud suae vitae, civilis grande consilium inniti voluerunt ac statuerunt firmo religionis christianae fundamento, quo ad felicem exitum properante, coeterae nationes indicae mox eamdem gubernationis forman in suam adoptaturae, eorum quoque bono exemplo simul ac verbi divini ministerio una pariter, uti firma proximaque spes est, convertentur ad religionem catholicam apostolicam romanam.

In quorum gratiam, pro propugnatione fidei et nostrarum salute animarum, nos supremi duces consilii, duces belli; bellatores, senes, mulieres et liberi totius oneideae nationis et nobis affinium nationum, sanctitati vestrae, supplicavimus et supplicamus providere, constituere, et confirmare Episcopum nostrae oneideae nationis et Primatem quinque nationum dilectum optimeque de nobis meritum Joannem Ludovicum Victorem Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, equitem, origine gallum, unum vero e nobis nostra nationali adoptione, virum religione, moribus, bonis consiliis et exemplis maxime commendandum, jam selectum, nominatum et assumptum a nobis ad illas sacras functiones, illumque augere rogamus in hac prospera apud nos religionis facie quibuscumque juribus, dignitate et praestantia in ordine ad conversionem nostrorum fratrum indorum, ad propagationem et conservationem fidei in nostris imperiis, et Deus totius autor salutis vestram sanctitatem vestrumque pontificatum suis optimis cumulabit donis.

Datum in pleno oneideae nationis Concilio sub signo nostrorum supremorum ducum magnoque sigillo nostrae nationis, anno reparatae salutis millesimo septingentesimo octogesimo nono, et primo ab exercita nostra suprema postestate, die vero vigesima quinta aprilis.

Tribus Lupi	*Tribus Testudinis*	*Tribus Ursi*
Ajestalate	Shovonjhelego	Hagoyvownloga
Scanondoe	Anthony	Konwagalet
Hannah-Sodalh	Sagoyowntha	Agwilentengwas

(Interpretatum a nobis linguarum interprete apud sex famosas nationes indicas die et anno supradictis. De mandato supremi concilii. Nicholas Jourdain, indice Shakerad.)

This *Supplicatio* was then placed in the hands of Jean de la Mahotière, first Agent-general of the Oneida Nation, who sent it to the Papal nuncio at Paris, together with the following letter addressed to Pius VI.

II

JEAN DE LA MAHOTIÈRE TO PIUS VI

Paris, May 17, 1790

(*Original*)[12]

Mahotière's letter, dated over twelve months later, gives us a more detailed explanation of this extraordinary request. The Agent-general evidently takes it for granted that there would be no hesitancy on the part of the Holy See in granting the request of the Oneidas, and he announces his readiness to take back to the Indians the reply which the Holy Father would doubtless send through the Nuncio at Paris. In Mahotière's letter we learn that the request for a bishop was founded upon the progress the faith had made among the Six Nations. A company of four Frenchmen had been formed for the purpose of organizing the future prosperity of the Indians, their conversion to the faith, and their alliance with the leading Christian powers, so that these same powers would be assured of the loyalty of their Indian subjects. The Indians still possessed a lively memory of the generosity which the French had shown towards them in the days when Canada was French territory, previous to the Treaty of 1763. In order to hold this affection and to continue the influence of the faith and of French culture among them, the Company of Four has had a chapel erected for their use, with pictures, bells, sacred vessels, ornaments and all other necessary decorations, at its own expense. To give them a love for work and a taste for agriculture, the Company has given them good example and has made them presents of horses, cattle, ploughs, and other implements of toil. Besides their own personal expenditures, M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges had expended more than two-thirds of his patrimony, 500,000 livres at least, and had practically crippled himself financially by his works of charity. Mahotière then appealed to the generosity of the Holy Father to assist in this important work, which was being furthered by the charity of the King of Spain. Mahotière had received orders also to ask the Holy Father not only to accede to the request of the Oneidas in the case of Father de Coulonges, but also to grant extraordinary faculties to the six French Capuchins who were to accompany him to America three months later.

M. Jean de la Mahotière premier agent général de la Nation des Oneida sur les ordres qu'il a reçu de solliciter auprès de Votre Saintété les moiens de propager et de conserver la foi parmi les nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale.

[12] *Arch. di Prop., Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, Vol. ii, fol. 397–401.

À Notre Très Saint Père Le Pape Pie VI, a Rome

Très Saint Père:

J'ai l'honneur d'adresser à Votre Saintété par l'envoi de Monseigneur le Nonce residant à Paris, les pièces ci-jointes, desquelles la nation des Oneida en particulier et les six fameuses Indiennes en général m'ont chargé avec ordre d'exprimer à Votre Saintété, les progrès que fait la religion parmi ces nations, leur impatience d'obtenir du Saint Siège des pouvoirs pour leur évêque et primat, et surtout de mettre avec la plus grande force sous les yeux de Votre Saintété les moiens qui sont plles us propres à conserver et à propager la foi dans un pais qui l'emporte sur toute l'Europe par son étendue et qui peut lui être assimilé pour le nombre des habitans, et de porter moi même à les nations les pouvoirs et la réponse dont il vous plaira, très Saint Père, me charger par l'entremise de Monseigneur Votre Nonce à Paris.

Le divin flambeau de la foi ne s'eteindra jamais sur la terre, et si en punition des méchans il cessoit d'eclairer une partie du monde, sa lumière vivifiante eclaireroit bientôt un autre hémisphere et prépareroit toujours des habitans pour le ciel: "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei . . . quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia et investigabiles viae ejus!"

Une compagnie de quatre français en opérant la civilisation des Indiens s'est proposée, très Saint Père, le bonheur de les nations et de leur posterité, de leur conversion à l'église romaine, leur alliance avec les puissances chrétiennes à l'effet d'en obtenir des secours pour la conversion des Indiens et assurer à les mêmes puissances la jouissance paisible et la conservation de leur Etats et Colonies en Amérique, cette dernière consideration est surtout de la plus grand importance pour les Florides, la Louisianne etc., et la Havanne, qui sont sous la puissance de la cour de Madrid.

Notre titre de français, par l'agréable ressouvenir qu'elles ont encore de l'honnêtété et de la générosité des Français à leur egard lorsqu'ils étaient possesseurs de la belle province du Canada avant le traité de 1763, mais pour opérer leur conversion à la foi et à la vie civile, nous avons jugés absolument nécessaire de recourir aux bienfaits, nous leur avons faits construire une église, acheter des tableaux, des cloches, des vases sacrés, des ornemens, des livres d'église et toutes ses décorations, de notre argent; pour leur inspirer l'amour du travail et le gout de l'agriculture nous leur en avons donnés nous mêmes l'example et nous leur avons faits présents de chevaux, de boeufs, de charrues et de tous les utensiles de labour.

Tous les présens, très Saint Père, leur ont été très agraéables, nous avons donnés beaucoup; mais M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges a emploié à cette oeuvre pie plus des deux tiers de son patrimoine, cinq cens milles livres au moins, et cet homme vertueux, ce prélat à bonnes oeuvres est mis hors d'état de continuer ses charités pour en avoir trop suivi le sentiment religieux.

La necessité d'employer les moiens de bienfaisance et de charité pour propager la foi dans le nouveau monde existe encore aujourd'hui, que dis-je elle est plus instante que jamais par les progrès qu'y fait la religion, vous en faire, très Saint Père, le tableau frappant, est l'ordre que j'ai reçu des nations indiennes converties, c'est l'obligation que je me suis imposée par Etat, par amour pour la religion, et par un sentiment de profonde vénération pour Votre Saintété. C'est combler vos entrailles paternelles de joie pour la conversion d'une infinité d'ames à la foi et la conquête d'un pais immense à l'Eglise. C'est convaincre ces bonnes nations que Votre Saintété trouvera

dans les tresors de sa charité des moiens effectifs de seconder près d'elles les opérations de la grace et la propagation de la foi. Et de continuer les secours que nous leur avons si loialement portés, ou par la voie de quêtes et d'aumones annuelles faites parmi les chrétiens, ou par celle de bénéfices dont il plairoit à Votre Saintété pourvoir ou faire pourvoir leur évêque et primat, ou par celle de bienfaits accordés par votre entremise, très Saint Père, par la Cour d'Espagne et dont la proposition ne peut qu'être favorablement accueillie, sous le nom de secours accordés par Sa Majesté très catholique aux Indiens de l'Amérique septentrionale convertis, lesquels secours arriveroient tous les ans à Newyork par le paquet Espagnol, par le paquet francais, ou de la Havanne, à l'adresse du consul d'Espagne ou de l'ambassadeur de France, pour etre remis à M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges leur évêque et primat, et Dieu comblera le regne de Votre Saintété de ses prosperités et de celles de l'Eglise les plus abondantes.

J'ai aussi ordre, très Saint Père, de supplier Votre saintété d'accorder des pouvoirs de curés et de missionnaires apostoliques à six Capucins Français que je vais emmener dans trois mois chez les nations indiennes. Ce sont de tous les prêtres ceux qui y sont en plus grande vénération qui leur conviennent le mieux. Je finis, très Saint Père, en demandant votre sainte bénédiction, et vos saintes indulgences.

Jean de la Mahotière premier agent général de la nation des Oneida et chargé des pouvoirs des six fameuses nations.

Paris, 17 *Mai*, 1790.

Mahotière's letter, with its rather naive expectations, seems to have been treated by the Nuncio as hardly worthy of immediate attention. One would suspect, however, from the Nuncio's dispatch to the Prefect of Propaganda—the third document of the series in our possession—that the question of an Oneida Bishop and Primate had assumed greater importance in Parisian ecclesiastical circles during the summer of 1790. In August of that year, the Nuncio wrote to the Cardinal-Prefect, enclosing Mahotière's letter and the *Supplicatio* of the Indians. From the Nuncio's letter we learn that Father de Coulonges, a priest of the Diocese of Bordeaux, was then among the Oneidas. The Nuncio tells the Cardinal that he is endeavoring to ascertain fuller details of the whole project, and especially about the priest in question. The whole matter had been discussed in the public press that same week, and in consequence he requested Mahotière to give him further explanations of the scheme. These details he will forward to Rome as soon as he receives Mahotière's letter. He had had two interviews with Mahotière, the Agent-general, but he has not been able to form an exact idea about the matter. The Agent strikes him as being very sincere in his plans, but the Nuncio is not quite certain that the plan will be successful.

III

THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL-PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.

Paris, August 2, 1790

(*Original*)[11]

Emin. Revmo. Signore Sig. Padrone Colendmo:

Mr. Jean de la Moutiere, che si dice agente d'un popolo selvaggio esistente

[11] *Arch. di Prop., ibid.*, fol. 399–400.

nell'America settentrionale, e detto degli Oneidi venne tempo fa da me, e mi presentò i fogli, che compiegati trasmetto a Vostra Eminenza. L'oggetto della sua domanda è di stabilire nel suddetto popolo una missione composta d'un tal Mr. le Tonnelier de Colonges, prete francese, che si trova di già in quelle parti, e di sei Cappuccini, che mi suppose aver trovati in Parigi disposti a transferirsi colà. A questa sua lo richiesi alcuni schiarimenti, di cui sono tuttavia in aspettativa. In primo luogo gli domandai se intendeva che questa missione dovesse essere a carico di Propaganda, o se gli Oneidi si caricavano del mantenimento di essa, e in tal caso, qual sicurezza ne avrebbero data. Gli chiesi inoltre il nome de'Cappuccini, che mi disse disposti a partire per quella volta, e finalmente lo avvertii esser necessario qualche attestato sulla persona di Mr. Tonnellier prete della diocesi di Bordeaux, che, secondo il suo piano, si vorrebbe creato vescovo. Voleva differire di scrivere su di ciò a Vostra Eminenza finchè avessi avuti gli accennati schiarimenti, che mi sembrano necessarj. Ma come ne fogli publici di questa settimana si è parlato della mentovata popolazione, e della constituzione che la medesima vuol darsi, e dei rapporti che brama di procurarsi colla Santa Sede, così senza aspettare ulteriormente, mi do l'onore d'inviarle le carte, che esistevano presso di me, perchè Vostra Eminenza sappia di che si tratta. Non mancherò di transmetterle in seguito il foglio dei schiarimenti da me richiesti a Mr. Moutiere subito che egli me lo avrà recato. Nelle due conversazioni che ho avute con questo signore, non ho potuto formarmi un'idea precisa della sua persona. Mi è sembrato però pieno di buone intensioni, ma non garantisco, che abbia in suo potere i mezzi, come condurre a termine quest'affare. E rassegnandole il mio profondissimo ossequio sono.

Dell'Eminenza Vostra humil. devotmo. obligmo. servitore.

Parigi 2 agosto 1790 A. Arcivescovo di Rodi.

It is not impossible that the document which follows is the one containing these further details asked for by the Nuncio. The document repeats the main lines of the *Supplicatio*, but contains certain further geographical details.

IV

THE ONEIDAS TO THE HOLY FATHER
ONEIDA CASTLE?—1790?

(*Original*)[14]

Suite des details interessans sûr les nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale et sûr les six nations en particulier dont la première est celle des oneida

A Notre très Saint Père le Pape Pie VI, Chef de l'Eglise.
à Rome

Très Saint Père

Les Nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale à qui cette partie de la terre est echue en partage par les decrets de la divine providence, sont très nombreuses et leur population beaucoup plus grande à mesure qu'elles sont plus enfoncées dans les terres et qu'elles ont moins de communication avec les européens. Ces indiens naturels du pais sont, très Saint Père,

[14] *Arch. di Prop., ibid.*, fol. 394–96.

proprietaires et maitres de cette immense partie du continent qui s'étend depuis les lignes des Etats Unis d'Amérique et celles du Canada jusqu'aux mers de l'ouest, du nord et du sudouest dont la seule partie connue a une étendue de soixante neuf mille vingt deux lieues carrées d'Angleterre et est par consequent plus grande que l'Allemagne, la flandre, la hollande et la suisse qui en total n'en contiennent que soixante neuf mille seize. Je dis la partie connue, parcequ'on n'a pû encore y decouvrir aucune rivière, aucun fleuve qui eut son cours vers quelques points de l'ouest, ce qui prouve les etats indiens dans cette partie ont encore une très grande étendue audelà des terres qui nous sont connues; de la suit naturellement, très Saint Père, une reflexion que vous pardonnerez à la force de notre zèle, qu'il importe infiniment à votre saintété et au bien de l'église que la foi soit prêchée à les nations qui sont bonnes parcequ'elles sont près de la nature et qu'elles se convertissent de proche en proche à la religion de Jesus Christ.

Les indiens, très Saint Père, ont divisé les terres en autant d'états differens qu'ils sont de nations, il les ont peuplés de familles et d'hommes libres, y ont élévés des hameaux, des villes et villages, et parmi eux la communauté de biens, les devoirs de la fraternité, le respect, l'obeissance aux parens et aux personnes plus agées sont des lois egalement consacrees par l'usage et par les moeurs.

Chaque nation possède ses états en tous droits de souveraineté et les etats indiens sont absolument differens et tout à fait étrangers à ceux de l'Amérique, connus sous le nom d'Etats Unis à ceux du Canada; nations souveraines, hommes libres, les indiens ne dependent en aucune manière ni du Congress ni du Roi d'Angleterre ni d'aucunes puissances avec qui ils traitent de souverain à souverain, toujours fideles à leurs traités, chacune des nations indiennes exerce ses guerriers, lève ses armées, fait la paix et la guerre, et combien il est affligeant, très Saint Père, de voir les Europeens, parce-qu'ils sont en proportion plus nombreux que les indiens situés de l'autre coté des lignes Amériquaines, exterminer les chefs, massacrer les familles indiennes, et envahir leur terres. Le gouvernement civil et religieux que nous leur avons donnés à pour objet, très Saint Père, un traité d'alliance, une confederation intime entre toutes les nations indiennes situées derrière les Etats Unis, depuis la nation des Oneida, qui possède la moitié du fleuve Saint-Laurent et du lac Ontario jusqu'à celle des Creeks qui occupent les derrières de la Georgie et des Florides qui appartiennent à la Cour d'Espagne, de proposer à cette Cour l'adhesion à le traité qui ne peut lui être que tres agréable, puisqu'elle aura pour objet la conservation des états et des familles indiennes qui dans la lizière seule des Amériquains peuvent former un corps d'armée de cent mille hommes, qu'elle portera plus particulièrement encore sur la défense et la conservation des Etats Espagnols, les Florides, la Louisiane etc., dans le continent de l'Amérique et des îles y adjacentes qui sont menacées par les Amériquains et qu'elles ne sera de la part de la Cour d'Espagne qu'une extension de la protection ouverte et du traité qu'elle a deja fait avec les deux nations indiennes dites les Creeks et les Chiroquois qui occupent les derrières des Florides, de la Georgie et des Carolines.

Les nations des Mohawks établis sur la rivière de ce nom, celle des Oneida souverains des terres à droite et à gauche du lac auquel ils ont donnés leurs nom, celle des Cayouga, des Caskanouray, des Onondaguay et des Senecas sont dites par excellence les Six Nations ou les Six Fameuses Nations, par-

cequ'elles ont vaincu pour la cause des Français leur alliés et amis toutes les nations indiennes connues. Elles sont situées entre le 300 et le 305 degré de longitude et le 42 et 46 degré de latitude du meridien de Paris et selon la manière de compter indienne, elles comprennent vingt quatre à vingt six mille familles.

La nation des Oneida située dans les environs du lac de ce nom, a, très Saint Père, sa ville principale au sudest dudit lac; elle est defendue par son heureuse situation et par un bon fort, et est marquée sur les cartes anglaises sous le nom *d'Oneida Castle*. C'est cette nation qui a reçu la première le germe de la civilization par le gouvernment civil et religieux que nous lui avons donnés, son example a été suivi il y a un an par les cinq autres fameuses nations indiennes avec les secours spirituels et ceux temporels puisés dans les tresors de charité qu'il plaira à Votre Saintété de leur procurer.

Nous leur avons fait edifier une église dans la ville d'Oneida, nous l'avons pourvue de vases sacrés, de cloches, de livres, et de toutes choses nécessaires au service divin; nous en avons fait une nation agricole en leur donnant avec des boeufs, des chevaux, des charrues et tous les usteniles d'agriculture, l'exemple de cultiver nous-mêmes les terres, le bled, le mahis, les patates, le millet, le ris, le chanvre, le lin, etc.; et M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges, homme plein de mérite et de bonnes oeuvres, que la nation des Oneida et les chefs des Six Nations ont nommés Evêque des Oneida et Primat des Six Nations et presentés à Votre Saintété en cette qualité, a depensé aumoins les deux tiers de sa fortune dans les oeuvres de religion et de bienfaisance. Il a obtenu de la nation des Oneida le renvoi des ministres, anglicans et presbyteriens comme n'aians plus parmi elle ni troupeaux, ce qui a été executé le mois d'avril 1789, et à appellé auprès de lui deux pretres du Canada pour l'aider dans le gouvernment spirituel de cette nation, jusqu'à l'arrivée des six capucins, que nous lui conduirons dand trois mois, aussitôt qu'il aura plû à votre saintété faire une response favorable à la nation nouvellement convertie et autres qui vont suivre son exemple.

Les pères capuchins français sont, très Saint Père, les prêtres qui conviennent le mieux aux indiens; ils les connaissent déjà et les aiment extremment; ils leur ont donnés le nom de *Longues robes*, et il seroit difficile de faire plus de plaisir à une communauté indienne que de lui procurer une longue robe; il est à souhaiter que Votre Saintété veuille revêtir des charactères de curés et de missionaires apostoliques les six capucins qui vont passer avec nous dans les etats indiens, et tous les autres qui ne tarderont pas à les suivre dans les travaux d'une aussi riche moisson.

Le Roi d'Espagne est déjà fondateur d'une église superbe, élevée depuis six ans à Newyork; il est bien digne de la religion de la monarque de être aussi de quelque église à edifier chez les nations indiennes et de se declarer le bienfaiteur de ces peuples qui peuvent rendre de très grands services á la cour d'Espagne et qui ne marqueront pas de le faire à l'occasion. La voie du Consul d'Espagne à New York est la plus courte et la plus sûre. Que Dieu inspirera à votre saintété les moiens les plus propres à effectuer et à obtenir la conversion de les nouveaux peuples par les bienfaits des fideles.

Tribe du loup	*Tribe de la Tortue*	*Tribe de l'ours*
Ajestalate	Shovonjhelego	Hagoyvownloga
Scanondoe	Anthony	Konwagalet
Hannah-Sodalh	Sagoyowntha	Agwilentengwas

These four documents are the only ones known to any archivist or research-worker in the Propaganda Archives; but there may be other documents, subsequent to the *Supplicatio*, in other Roman collections. The spiritual welfare of the Indians was never lost sight of by the authorities of Propaganda, and no doubt a thorough search among the ecclesiastical archives of Bordeaux, Paris, and Quebec would reveal other interesting papers on this subject. That the Indians never received a special bishop for themselves is certain, and probably the surest attitude of the historian in the presence of this extraordinary project of the Oneidas is to see rather a French political move than any real desire to segregate the Indians under a bishop for themselves alone.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Retrospect of Fifty Years. By James Cardinal Gibbons. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1916. Vols. i and ii. Pp. xv + 335; pp. vii + 287.

These two fine volumes, bound in cardinal red, are from the pen of the foremost Churchman of the United States. They contain the history of some of the more noteworthy events in which His Eminence of Baltimore has taken a prominent part. This *Retrospect of Fifty Years* has all the charm of an autobiography and all the authority of a well-written and well-documented history. It gives us an intimate insight into the mind of this great prelate and citizen. In the Introduction, Cardinal Gibbons tells us that he has put together this selection of essays and sermons with the thought that they might be valuable for the history of the four score years it has pleased God to spare him to the American nation. "I have lived a long time," he says, "and I have lived through a very critical time. Not only have I held office many years, but I have held office during a time of transition, when the old order was changed." At the present time, there are few survivors in the episcopate who can remember the strenuous times depicted in the first eight chapters of these volumes which contain the Cardinal's personal reminiscences of the Vatican Council. "I am the last living Father of the Vatican Council. Now, alone upon this earth, I can report what happened within those sacred walls—not by hearsay, nor from books, but from what I actually saw and heard."

His Eminence was born in July, 1834, in Baltimore. His preliminary education was obtained in Ireland and later he entered St. Charles' College, then at Ellicott City. He made his philosophical and theological studies at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and was ordained June 30, 1861. For the next few years he labored on the missions in Maryland. On August 18, 1868, he was consecrated Bishop of Adramyttum and Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina. He was transferred to Richmond, July 30, 1872, and was appointed coadjutor of Baltimore, 1877.

He became Archbishop of Baltimore and Primate of the Church in the United States, October 3, 1877, and was created Cardinal Priest, June 7, 1886. It was while he was Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina that His Eminence attended the opening of the Vatican Council in Rome, December 8, 1869. At that time the Catholic Bishops of Christendom, resident and titular, numbered about 1,200. Every continent, every island of importance, every nation on the face of the globe, except Russia, was represented by its hierarchy. It must have been a most striking and gratifying sight to this young bishop from the United States, and in the reminiscences which he has given us with his usual and clear style, we can see how wonderfully skilled the officials of Rome were in handling this great crowd of ecclesiastics. While they were gathered at Rome, war had broken out between France and Prussia, and while they were preparing their decrees for the peaceful organization of the Church's future life, the troops were massing on the frontiers of France, and the land of the eldest daughter of the Church was being reddened with the blood of two of the most powerful nations of the time. In his *Diary*, which occupies six chapters of the first volume, the Cardinal takes us step by step through all the work of the Vatican Council and gives us a close view of the discussions which took place on the all important question of Papal Infallibility.

One interesting passage in these chapters is that describing the difference of opinion among the prelates:

"The difference of opinion that existed among the bishops on the subject of the infallibility is known throughout the four quarters of the globe. What was the cause of it? If anyone imagines that all those who joined in opposing a definition from the outset were actuated by the same motives, he would certainly be wide of the mark. While the main point of the controversy was held by the ultramontanes without exception, and there was but the one question as to the formula to be used, the opposition, as they were generally called, taken all together, had no fixed principle of accord, save an agreement to disagree with the defining the doctrine as of faith. To analyze the constituent parts of this body we shall class them according to ideas.

"The first class comprise those who, believing the doctrine themselves, or at least, favoring it speculatively, did not think

it capable of definition, not deeming the tradition of the church clear enough on this point.

"A second class, the most numerous, regarded the definition as possible, but practically fraught with peril to the church, as impeding conversions, as exasperating to governments. For the sake of peace, and for the good of souls, they would not see it proclaimed as of faith.

"All of these dissident prelates, we are bound to say, acted with conscientious conviction of the justice of the cause they defended. They were bound in conscience to declare their opinions, and to make them prevail by all lawful influence. If on one side or the other of this most important and vital question, they went beyond the limits of moderation, or used means not dictated by prudence or charity, it is nothing more than might have been expected in so large a number of persons, of such varied character and education. Instead of being shocked at the little occurrences of this nature, we should rather be struck with admiration at the self-restraint and affability which were shown, despite the intensity of feeling and strength of conviction. In a word, that the Council of the Vatican did not break up many months ago in disorder and irreconcilable enmity, is because it was God's work, and not man's; it was because charity ruled in it, in spite of defects, and not the passions that govern the political debates of men. The earnest desire all had of a mutual good understanding was evinced on occasion of the speech of a well-known cardinal which, though not approved by all, gave evidence of a sincere desire for conciliation and agreement. The effect was remarkable; a thrill of pleasure went through the assembly, for the moment each one seemed to breathe freely, and to hail his words as harbingers of peace in the midst of excitement and anxiety."

There are passages in all these chapters which are alive with that strong virile delineation and with that extraordinary ability His Eminence has already shown in clarifying the most difficult and most intricate problems in doctrinal and historical matters. Apart from this very valuable contribution to Church History—and there is no doubt that all future historians of the Church will use these chapters as sources for their description of the Vatican Council—the Cardinal has reprinted what he considers

to be the more weighty of his papers and sermons during these past fifty years. These may be divided into sermons for Church celebrations, such as consecrations of cathedrals, dedications of churches, centenary celebrations, golden jubilees, funeral orations, and other special essays which might find a fit place in a volume on Church and State in the United States. Many will be glad to have here within reach the text of His Eminence's Letter to Cardinal Simeoni on the Knights of Labor. It is not necessary to enter into the difficulty which arose in Canada over the proposed condemnation of the Knights of Labor, but what is of value for American history is the staunch protection which His Eminence gave to the Society at a time when it looked as though it would be condemned by Rome. There is no doubt a close connection between this important letter and the famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Together with this letter are two other essays: *The Church and the Republic*, and *The Church's Work for the Republic*. Seldom have any two state papers ever reached the same height of patriotism as is contained in these essays. The first of them is an answer for all times to the difficulty which some still see between civil and ecclesiastical allegiance. Probably the most quoted passage of the Cardinal's writings is that passage which begins:

"American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State; and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which should make a union desirable either to Church or State. We know the blessings of our present arrangement; it gives us liberty and binds together priests and people in a union better than that of Church and State. Other countries, other manners; we do not believe our system adapted to all conditions; we leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problems for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God we live in America, 'in this happy country of ours,' to quote Mr. Roosevelt, where 'religion and liberty are natural allies.' "

Among the many chapters of these volumes to which special attention might be drawn is that on the *Silver Jubilee of the Catholic University* which was delivered at St. Patrick's Church, Washington, April 15, 1916. The Catholic University was instituted in 1887, and Cardinal Gibbons, as Archbishop of

Baltimore, became its first Chancellor. The University has been, as he has always considered it, his most sacred trust; and during its life of a quarter century he has been its principal guide and its faithful support. In the growth of the University, he says, "Twenty-five years is but as a day; in the life of the individual, it counts for much more. I regard it as a special favor granted me by Almighty God that I have been permitted to devote so much of my time to this sacred cause. From the beginning, the University has been for me an object of deepest personal concern. Through its growth and through its struggles, through all the vicissitudes which it has experienced, it has been very near to my heart. It has cost me, in anxiety and tension of spirit, far more than any other of the duties or cares which have fallen to my lot. But for this very reason, I feel a greater satisfaction in its progress. I feel amply compensated for whatever I have been able to do in bearing its burdens and in helping it through trial to prosperity and success."

It is but fitting that the last chapter of this *Retrospect* should carry the mind of the reader to the joys and the happiness that await the faithful servants of God in the world to come.

Some one has well said that no one has been so scrupulously careful in his speeches and writings as His Eminence of Baltimore, and in all things he has written and said during the past fifty years, there is undeniably a wisdom and a foresight, a sympathy and an intelligence, scarcely paralleled in the whole history of the Church. The volumes are dedicated to the Rector and Faculties of the Cathloic University of America. We predict a large sale for these two volumes, which should be in every library, public and private, in the land.

The Sulpicians in the United States. By Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Latin in the College of the City of New York, Editor-in-chief of the Catholic Encyclopedia, President of the United States Catholic Historical Society. New York, The Encyclopedia Press: 1916. Pp. 368.

Historical quest among the books in the library of Dunwoodie Seminary brought to Dr. Herbermann an acquaintance with Sulpicians which ripened into intimacy and fructified in this

tribute of respect and love, "The Sulpicians in the United States." There are evidences from first to last that it is not alone the historian's fascination for the *res gestae* of heroic but obscure pioneers in a great service rendered the cause of Catholicity, not alone the enthusiasm of a coreligionist proud of the achievement of his Church in this glorious country which has inspired the compilation of this book, but loving sympathy and high regard and profound admiration for the humble company that has labored this past century and a quarter to mould the priesthood and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States.

To glean the activities of the Sulpicians from the meager records which are left of men whose practical motto was "to love to be unknown and to be esteemed as naught," to trace the ramifications of their influence in school and public life, in college and seminary and convent, in Maryland and Maine and New York, in the South and in the Middle West and on the Pacific coast, to throw a glamor round the prosaic routine of the classroom, to transform the toils of self-sacrificing missionaries into achievements of historic grandeur, to give light and color to the crude beginnings and slow growth of the enterprises of men whose life was hid with Christ in God—this might well have palsied the energies of even a young enthusiast, might have intimidated the staunchest of well-reputed historians ambitious not to see his glory dimmed. It is a proof that to Dr. Herbermann this was a labor of love that he undertook this gigantic work when weighted with the burden of years and threatened with the blindness that eventually came upon him and obliged him to dictate what, despite these drawbacks, constitutes a book that does but enhance his established reputation in the domain of history.

We read here the story of the Sulpicians, their ideals and efforts and achievements, from their inception by French refugees through precarious struggles to the solid establishment of their work in the hands of native-born and native-trained priests, inspired now by the lofty examples of sacerdotal piety and whole-hearted sacrifice which their predecessors have bequeathed to them.

The Sulpicians are secular priests bound by no vow other than their priesthood entails, living in community, and devoted

solely to the education of future priests. Their origin dates from the efforts of J. J. Olier, pastor in 1642 of the parish of St. Sulpice in Paris, to remedy the evils that had sprung from the inadequate training of the clergy. He gathered round him priests who felt the needs he was endeavoring to supply. The results of their labors and their example drew others to their company, and in 1791, when the society was dispersed by the French Revolution, they had charge of sixteen theological seminaries and ten other houses for clerical education in France. Coincident with this onslaught against religion was the establishment of the see of Baltimore; and Bishop Carroll eagerly sought Sulpician aid to recruit the priesthood of his vast diocese. Four priests and five seminarians reached Baltimore, July 10, 1791, and purchased a house on the grounds where the seminary is still located. But recruits did not appear, and for years the work languished for want of material; and the professors turned missionaries. This diversion of activities foreign to the purpose of the organization threatened a recall of the Sulpicians to resume in France, now restored from the terrors of the Revolution, their seminary labors; but Pope Pius VII, when consulted, bade them stay in America.

Of the early days, the historian has reported by character sketches of the men who unstintedly labored in the apparently unpromising field; he has outlined the manner of their life and their rigid adherence to the aims of their institute and their efforts to see them realized; he has recounted in brief the zealous labors of their first few students, Badin in Kentucky, Gallitzin in Pennsylvania, Floyd in Baltimore, Matthews in Washington, Richard in Michigan.

To recruit St. Mary's Seminary, the Sulpicians made efforts in many directions to open preparatory schools. In most instances they were unsupported by the communities where they located, and they were, therefore, obliged to relinquish their projects. Sulpicians for a time taught in Georgetown College; they began and for twenty years maintained Mt. St. Mary's at Emmitsburg; they had civil authority for the secular St. Mary's College, Baltimore, that for thirty years was Maryland's proudest boast in educational activities. The success of this institution and the universal regret expressed at its closing—

Loyola College was created to carry on its work—witnesses to the efficiency of Sulpician training even in a field apart from their special vocation; and in reading the story of its history we see pictured before us student-life in the early and middle nineteenth century.

The severance of the Sulpicians from Mt. St. Mary's was due to the same cause which closed St. Mary's College. Sulpician work is the training of the clergy: whatever is apart from this, secular education, missionary labors, direction of souls in religious or secular life, though laudable in itself, has always been regarded by Sulpicians as not their work. Necessity forced them to foreign fields, but once there set in a continuous flow of students for the priesthood, St. Mary's Seminary claimed their undivided attention, and the laborers were loyal to their ideal.

It was necessity, too, which brought the Sulpicians, contrary to the spirit and precedents of their institute, into the hierarchy. Trainers and exemplars of the clergy, they were sought by the former pupils when a chief pastor had to be appointed. Summoned from their cherished labors, it was with the utmost reluctance that they severally exchanged their Sulpician life for the dignity of the episcopate. But once the new field was entered, "they remained the same zealous, modest lovers of learning; they were animated by the same earnestness in the cause of clerical education and, in truth, of all education; they were the same indefatigable laborers; they led the same democratic life of simplicity which distinguished them as seminary professors." Bishop Flaget, for forty years, ruled a diocese nominally Kentucky, embracing, however, Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan and Canada as far as Quebec. Bishop David, taken from the Baltimore seminary to assist Bishop Flaget with his seminary, was from 1817 to 1841 his able coadjutor who, by his professorial, executive and literary labors, had a large share in the development of Catholic interests in Kentucky. Bishop Dubourg was marked by success as a professor, missionary, founder and president of St. Mary's College, when nominated Administrator of the diocese of New Orleans, which included regions even as far north as St. Louis. For twelve years he labored unflaggingly in this extensive section of the country. In 1826 he resigned and was transferred to the

see of Montaubon in France, and seven years later was raised to the archbishopric of Besançon. Archbishop Marechal, after five years of professorial duties at St. Mary's Seminary, was raised to the see of Baltimore as its third Archbishop; and he it was who was most instrumental in effecting the appointment of Americans for American sees, and the formulation of a policy to counteract the baneful influences of Lay-trusteeism. Bishop Dubois, after founding and ruling Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, for over twenty years was consecrated third bishop of New York. Bishop Bruté had for years been the zealous collaborator of Bishop Dubois at Emmitsburg when he was nominated to the see of Vincennes. Archbishop Eccleston, of Maryland extraction, was President of St. Mary's College when made the first Archbishop of Baltimore at the age of thirty-four. Five Councils of Baltimore were held during his seventeen years of administration in the metropolitan see. Bishop Chanche, thrice refused the miter, but in 1840 yielded to pressure and became first bishop of Natchez. Bishop Chabrat left the Baltimore seminary with Bishop Flaget, labored with him and became his second coadjutor. Bishop Verot, the last of the bishops whom St. Sulpice gave to the American Church, did efficient work as scientist and professor in St. Mary's before he went to Florida as Vicar Apostolic and later to Savannah as its third bishop, then in 1870 to the newly erected see of St. Augustine.

The sketches that tell the history of the labors of these Sulpicians is scanty indeed, stating only the broad facts and the more noteworthy achievements of these missionary bishops; but they mark the indefatigable zeal and self-sacrificing spirit which prompted diocesan visitations and erection of churches and inception of colleges and seminaries and convents, and the introduction of religious communities into the fields of their labors.

During the stress of these early days in the efforts made to establish Catholicity in this country, the Sulpicians had a further part in the institution of the religious orders of Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity and the Oblate Sisters of Providence. Bishop David organized the Sisters of Loretto.

In 1830, Charles Carroll of Carrollton donated a tract of land and gave a sum of money to the Sulpicians to aid in the

foundation of a *petit seminaire*. Building was begun at once and legislative authority granted, but insurmountable obstacles thwarted the opening till 1848. For sixty-three years the institution grew in numbers and equipment, till in 1911 fire totally destroyed the plant. Accommodations were immediately made at Catonsville, where now portions of a thoroughly modern group of buildings and what when completed will be the finest chapel in the country—the gift of two friends—have been erected. Over 4,300 students have attended this exclusively clerical college, of which number more than a third have entered the priesthood, and the priest-alumni today count up to eight hundred and ninety three.

The account of St. Mary's Seminary is brought down only to 1902. It runs through seven chapters, embodying the salient features of the regime under its successive superiors. We learn here the spirit of the seminary maintained high and inviolate through the one hundred and twenty-five years of its course; we are made acquainted in outline with the successes and the difficulties encountered in recruiting students, maintaining professorial staff, and meeting the growing needs of the country for a learned and pious clergy. Here, too, we are carried through the development of the curriculum from simple beginnings of only philosophy and theology and scripture, through successive growths demanded by the thought and academic activities of the broadening times, to the crowded horarium of the present-day seminarian. From this institution have gone forth 2,053 priests, 32 bishops, 8 archbishops, and His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore. And next year will see the over-crowded seminary carrying on its last term of training close to the Catholic University at Washington.

The various works of the Sulpicians and the length of time they have been laboring have given to the structure of the book a cast that has brought about over-lapping, there is a meagerness of detail about the severance of the Sulpicians from the control of Mt. St. Mary's and the steps by which Loyola College came in to replace St. Mary's College; but these imperfections fade before the substantial worth which the volume does not only to the Sulpicians and to their devoted historian but to the Catholic Church of the land.

The Life of Father De Smet, S.J. By E. Laveille, S.J. Authorized Translation by Marian Lindsay. Introduction by Charles Coppens, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. Pp. xxii+400. Illustrated.

Across the pages of this very interesting book flit Indians, trappers, traders, soldiers, selfish and unscrupulous agents, side by side with heroic and self-sacrificing Jesuit missionaries. The central figure is Father De Smet.

Born in 1801 in the town of Termonde, Belgium, Pierre Jean De Smet soon gave promise of the qualities which so well fitted him for the rôle he was destined by Providence to fill later on. In his school days he was conspicuous for his great physical strength and love of rough games, but rather inconspicuous though solid in his studies. Kind-hearted to a fault, and ever inclined to take the side of the weak against the strong, he was very popular among his fellow students. He early showed that love of justice which, in after years in a far country, endeared him to savage tribes, and impelled him to plead their cause before governments and people.

In his youth, carried away by the glamour of the achievements of Napoleon's Grand Army, he seemed to be inclined to a military career. His real vocation was finally determined when he met Father Nerinckx, a missionary from Kentucky. The latter was returning to America with a band of novices for the Society of Jesus, and among these Father De Smet enrolled himself, leaving home without saying good-bye to his family. He entered the Jesuit novitiate at Whitemarsh, Md., going later to Florissant, Mo., where he was ordained priest in 1827.

The book gives us a vivid picture of the Middle West and the great Northwest in pioneer days. It shows us the work of Father De Smet among the various Indian tribes, over all of which he possessed an almost miraculous influence. We see the American aborigine at his best when cut off from the Whites and living in the Jesuit reductions. We behold the splendid promise of these reductions, which bid fair to rival those of Paraguay, ruined by the insatiable greed of white settlers who drove the red men further and further into the barren wilds, and the debasing influence of traders and others who destroyed the Indians' manhood.

Interesting side-lights are thrown on the Jesuit foundations in North America and on the great work done by the Order in those early days. The noble character of Father De Smet is laid bare with its forgetfulness of self and its unbounded confidence in God. Through every page looms the impressive figure of this extraordinary man, who was at the same time explorer, geographer, linguist, and author, and last, though not least, successful mediator between the United States Government and the Indian tribes. An alphabetical index adds to the value of this excellent life-story of a truly remarkable man.

The Conquest of Virginia the Forest Primeval. By Conway Whittle Sams, B.L. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916. Pp. 432. Maps and illustrations.

Every reader of American history, even the school-boy, has sketched for himself an outline of Indian environment. In imagination one sees him in his wigwam communing with the genius of solitude or, in a fit of activity, going forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase or the rapture of the fight. We behold his patient squaw bearing his burdens or toiling in his fields. Our early reading has made us familiar with his stoicism and his cruelty. In a word, by a succession of touches we have constructed for ourselves a picture of the daily life of the aboriginal race of America. An examination of *The Conquest of Virginia* is likely to make some alterations in our cherished picture of Indian civilization.

This volume, the first of a series projected by its author, is called *The Conquest of Virginia* because in his opinion it was a conquest "as truly as that of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, Mexico by Cortez, or Peru by Pizarro." Mr. Sams might have added that it was more complete than any of them, for in Virginia there are few survivors of the native tribes.

The introduction briefly notices the European wars concerning religion. In this section the author, who believes that the grand object of Philip II was to extirpate heretics, does not appear to have examined the recent discussions of the era of the Armada. In America as well as in England, future historians will conclude that the piratical acts of Drake and others sufficiently justified the attempt of Philip to make England a dependency of Spain.

The character of the Indians is established by numerous citations from those observers who studied them before they had been influenced by contact or by conflict with the whites. An interesting chapter describes the food, the clothing, and the social organization of the natives. There is also included a careful account of their hunting, fishing, and agriculture as well as of their skill in the making of weapons, pottery, and canoes.

What will be new to many a reader is the description of the houses of a people who, he had always believed, dwelt in tents and wigwams. Some will doubtless be surprised to learn of the existence upon the arrival of the English in Virginia of considerable Indian towns. Most of the illustrations had shown them a few feathered heads in the forest.

There is an excellent discussion of the political and the military systems of the aborigines, and of the medicine-man, who reminds one of the Druids of old. So far as it is understood the mysterious and terrible rite of *hus-ka-naw-ing* is explained.

The burial mounds are fully treated; also the method of embalming and burying the kings. Considerable space is devoted to the religion of the Indians as well as to an account of their priests and conjurers. There are good sketches of Powhatan and Wingina, the most renowned kings in the early Jamestown days. A useful chapter examines and illustrates the vocabulary of the Indians.

Not much is said of the extension of English authority even in the tidewater regions of Virginia and almost nothing is said as to why tribe after tribe vanished before the English. This subject, indeed, is one of the most obscure in all colonial history. Not in every case was it the cruelty of the white race which swept the natives from the face of the earth. Doubtless the white man's rum counted as many victims as did his adroitness or his firearms.

The History of Mother Seton's Daughters. The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio. By Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M.A. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Vol. i, pp. xxvii+336; Vol. ii, pp. vii+334.

To tell the story of the Sisters of Charity of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (1829–1917) with a wealth of new material and in

an attractive style has been the object of the author of these two splendid volumes. The period covered in these two volumes runs from 1774 down to 1870, and a third volume, which we understand is almost finished, will complete the work. The whole work may be divided into three distinct periods: the life and labors of Mother Seton from her birth in 1774 down to her death in 1821; the story of the growth of the Daughters of Charity in America from Mother Seton's death down to the Affiliation of the Order with the Sisters of Charity of France in 1851; and, from that time down to the present, the history of this Cincinnati branch of Mother Seton's spiritual children. Mother Seton's life before her conversion in 1810, and the beginning of her community from its foundation to her death on January 4, 1821, are told with that intimate charm which only one who has lived a long time in the community can possess. The growth of her Sisterhood was very rapid. Houses were soon opened in Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other cities, where the activities of the nuns were welcomed by both Protestant and Catholic. It is with the Cincinnati branch that the work deals particularly after 1829, and there is barely a single prominent figure in the ecclesiastical life all through the nineteenth century who does not come into these pages. It speaks well for the foresight of our bishops and archbishops of the past that they all saw the development of Mother Seton's community with eyes of enthusiasm and commendation. Cardinal Cheverus, then Bishop of Boston, wrote to Mother Seton:

"How admirable is Divine Providence! I see already numerous choirs of virgins following you to the Altar. I see your holy Order diffusing itself in the different parts of the United States, spreading everywhere the good odor of Jesus Christ and teaching by their angelic lives and pious instructions how to serve God in purity and holiness. I have no doubt, my dear Sisters, that He who has begun this work will bring it to perfection."

The author had one serious difficulty facing her in planning this remarkable work—her explanation of the Affiliation with France in 1850-1. As is well known, the Cincinnati branch declined to enter into this Union, and there has been a silent controversy the past half century over the question: which of the branches—that at Emmittsburg, or the houses that did not avail

themselves of the invitation to become subject to the French Motherhouse, has been more instrumental in handing down Mother Seton's own ideal. The reader will find the question answered at length in the second volume of this work. The superficial critic might have cause to complain that no Emmitsburg documents are mentioned in the rather full bibliography which precedes the work, but Father Cribbin's letter to Archbishop Moeller, dated Emmitsburg, December 11, 1913, which the author wisely published in a footnote (Vol. ii, p. 101) states quite emphatically that he could find nothing relating to the question in the Emmitsburg Archives. The letter is as follows:

"*Most Rev. Archbishop:*

"I returned from Europe a few days ago; having as I promised last fall, made inquiries concerning the documents you are so anxious to secure. I regret that I could find nothing relating to the question of the separation of the sisters from Emmitsburg. I realize that this must be a disappointment, but I see no relief from it.

"With sincere respect, I am,

"*Your Grace's obedient servant,*

"J. P. Cribbins, C.M."

The work is well documented, and is enriched with many fine photogravures, all of which have an historical interest. The Daughters of Charity, whether members of the Cincinnati branch or otherwise, may well be proud of this account of the achievements of their order the past hundred years.

United States Catholic Historical Society: Historical Records and Studies. Edited by Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D.D., Stephen Farrelly, Thomas F. Meehan. New York, 1917. Vol. x, pp. 208.

The present volume, edited by a Committee of the United States Historical Society, might well be called a memorial volume for Charles George Herbermann, its late president. There can be no exaggeration in saying that the work done by the Society during the past quarter century has been done in most part under the direction and inspiration of Dr. Herbermann; and in the obituary notice written by Peter Condon, the reader is given an excellent insight into the many and varied aspects of

his career. To those who knew him only from the printed page, it will be surprising to learn that overshadowing all his fine critical acumen was a spiritual quality which displayed itself in an almost poetic vision of the past and which lightened his whole character with a sympathetic appreciation of everything that appealed to his fellow-men. Monsignor Brann's *Personal Reminiscences* show us the schoolmaster, the friend, the father, the husband, and the scrupulously observant Catholic. Monsignor Brann tells us that he was one of the best known men in New York. "If you could have had the pleasure of accompanying him on his long walks, as I often had, you would frequently observe eminent judges, brainy lawyers, clever physicians, progressive merchants, and prominent men of letters, reverently saluting their old professor, prompted thus to show their respect and love for him who as a teacher had no equal and as a Christian gentleman had no superior."

The United States Catholic Historical Society has lost its most prominent figure; but it is certain that those who follow in his footsteps will be influenced, by his strong devotion to historic truth and his love for the Church, in carrying on the work to which he dedicated a quarter century of unceasing activity. He has left the Society a legacy of very important articles and publications, all of which the historians of the Catholic Church in the United States must use if they would keep abreast with the latest work in this field.

A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico. By Edith O'Shaughnessy (Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy). Letters from the American Embassy at Mexico City, concerning the dramatic period between October 8, 1913, and the breaking off of diplomatic relations on April 23, 1914, together with an account of the occupation of Vera Cruz. Illustrated. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1916. Pp. ix+347.

Long after the reports and despatches of official and unofficial diplomats concerning the relations of the United States with Mexico during this trying time will have passed into oblivion, these letters will be read, not only because of the picture they convey of an eventful and enigmatic period, but because of their transcendent literary merit. The Diplomat's wife shows she

is lacking neither in tact nor diplomacy. No weighty diplomatic secrets are revealed, and the purely diplomatic questions are handled in a detached impersonal manner such as might be the expected in the case of any extremely clever person, whose relations with the events described was not through the representative of one of the great powers involved in the struggle. Even where diplomatic personages and their doings are concerned, however, the letters are not colorless nor without point. They give a picture of Victoriano Huerta, then President of Mexico, which if not at all times flattering will save his memory from the stigma of being an unmitigated scoundrel and monster. His patient struggles to cope with a situation over which he had little control and his manifest unselfishness where the interests of his country were at stake, will do much to obliterate many of his shortcomings.

Apart from the interest which the book offers in the light it throws on the most dramatic episodes in the recent relations of the United States and Mexico it has much of the charm of a novel or the narrative of an explorer. The author writes not only with a knowledge of Mexico but with sympathy for the people and their customs. It will come as a surprise to many persons that there are in Mexico so many truly estimable and cultured people. The contrast offered by Mexico City, its quaint and alluring character, its quiet glorious surroundings and its enormous possibilities, with the turmoil and anarchy of the rest of the Republic as revealed in this book intensifies the regret that no stable government seems possible in a land so rich in resources.

Addresses at Patriotic and Civic Occasions by Catholic Orators. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1915. 2 Vols. Pp. iv+295; iii+312.

The subjects dealt with in these speeches, addresses and sermons are a valuable guide to the questions in which the Catholics of the United States are at present most deeply interested. They deal mainly with patriotism and religion. Through nearly all of them runs an apologetic tone, which reveals the fact that in recent years Catholics, notwithstanding their many

services to the Republic, find it necessary to be on the defensive against men who impugn their motives and their loyalty. It seems incongruous, that at this late date any Catholic should find it necessary to discuss the question, "can a Catholic be a citizen of the United States?" Such, however, is the lamentable fact, and whatever the future may have in store for Catholics, the historian of succeeding ages will find it hard to account for the discrepancy between the spirit of other orations in which the United States is now hailed as the foremost exponent of humanity and tolerance and those contained in these volumes which reveal the presence of so much anti-Catholic virus and bitterness. That the efforts of the Church were not entirely apologetic is shown by many of the addresses on such subjects as Education, Socialism and even Woman Suffrage.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The term "American History" demands a word of explanation—the authors of that excellent *Guide to the Study of American History* tell us. "Using the phrase in its broadest sense," they say, "it would mean an account of everything that has ever happened within the Western Hemisphere." Such a definition is impossible, both on account of the vastness of the material and because of the different degrees of intrinsic importance of the various elements which necessarily go to make up such a history. The vital elements of the life of the people from the materials at hand are the background of the pictures the historian is to draw. Applying this criterion, they say, we can hardly speak of American history earlier than the discovery by Columbus, because the material is too scanty for anything more than an imperfect notion of feeble native communities, and a few far-away suggestions of earlier discoverers. Of human characters, of political devices, of economic development, of literature and of religion, in America before Columbus, we can know almost nothing: and what we do know has scanty instruction for us. If one were to divide the history of the Catholic Church in the Western Hemisphere into three parts:

I. ANCIENT AMERICA (to 1125 A. D.),
II. MEDIEVAL AMERICA (1125–1492),
III. MODERN AMERICA (1492–1917),

the question would naturally arise whether the information we possess for the first two of these periods is as scanty as most American historians believe. The year 1125 which separates the two divisions falls within one of the brilliant periods of the Church's activity, and the creation of the first American See—that of Gardar, in Greenland—in that year would postulate an active Catholic life here for at least a half-century before the coming of Bishop Arnold to his diocese. It can be admitted that our knowledge of the period we have called *Ancient America* must always be imperfect and faint. We have very few sources to build a narrative upon, but what little we possess is for that reason all the more valuable.

It is impossible to find one's way with surety through the tangled pathways of legends into a demonstrable history of how much was really known in Greco-Roman times of the fabled Continent. Light begins to break only when we are well on into Carolingian times, when a sturdy colony of Norsemen had settled Iceland. One echo of that day is the unsuccessful attempt of the Irish monks to convert the Icelandic Republic. The famous legend of St. Brendan, whose island is to be found in the earliest maps of the New World, has a standing place in American history, and is still capable of much study. The *Navigatio Brendani*, as can be seen by referring to Hardy, is one of the most numerous of all medieval manuscripts, thirteen copies alone existing at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The whole story is nebulous, but when we reach the year 834, we have an authentic American document—the Bull of Pope Gregory IV, under date of May 21, of that year, giving to the Archbishopric of Drontheim jurisdiction

over Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland. At the end of the tenth century—the conventional date is 1000, Lief the Lucky, the son of Eric, who had discovered Greenland, became a Christian, and he is said to have brought out the first priest to that country. Between this time and the date we have arbitrarily chosen as the dividing line between Ancient and Medieval America, the growth of the Church in Greenland is well attested by the ruins which still bear witness to a high state of society. The *Sagas* are not the only sources we have for the history of the voyagers who went out to Greenland, Vinland, and Markland between the years 1000 and 1347. Reeves has published the *Sagas* relating to these voyages in the *Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890), and Rafn, in his *Antiquitates Americanae*, gives a good description of all the alleged monumental sources that exist for the Norse history of what is now the United States.

For the ecclesiastical history of the Norse Church in America, there are first the documents from the papal archives, and such sources as Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae*, which will be more easily found in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Scriptores, Vol. vii). The first Bishop—Eric Upsi—bore the title of Bishop of Greenland, but his successors are known as Bishops of Gardar. The See of Gardar was erected in 1125 (the date is sometimes given as 1154), and with it begins what might be called the Medieval Epoch of American history. Of the long line of Bishops who ruled this See, we have all the names, but only a brief history of about fourteen prelates of this first American Church. Under Bishop Olaf (1246–1280), Peter's pence was introduced into Greenland, and was paid in walrus teeth, whalebones and furs. During the time of Bishop Alfus (1366-78), the Skraellings or Esquimaux began a series of raids upon the Greenlanders and from that date the Church there begins gradually to decline. The last Bishop known to have resided in Greenland was Bishop Andreasson, who performed a marriage in the Cathedral of Gardar in 1409. In 1448, Rome commissioned the two bishops of Iceland to restore religion in Greenland, but for some unknown reason this Bull remained ineffective for a half century. The Greenland Catholics were in a pitiful condition for want of a priest, and they appealed to Innocent VIII (1484–1492) to send them a missionary. The only memorial of the faith, they told him, was the corporal used in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass by the last priest a century before, and around this they often gathered for worship. Moved by their petition, Alexander VI appointed a Benedictine monk, Mathias, to the See of Gardar. He had been nominated by Innocent VIII. It is in the Bull of Mathias' elevation to the See of Gardar that we learn much concerning the condition of the Church in Greenland. This is the last historical notice we have, and it is significant that the date of the Bull, 1492, marks the dividing line between *Medieval* and *Modern America.*

The student of the Greenland Church has a variety of materials at hand for his research work, with many interesting by-products to handle, such as the

recently discovered Kensington Rune Stone (1898). But the principal collection—one cannot say, at his disposal, for only twenty-five copies were printed—is the Heywood series—*Documenta Selecta e Tabulario Secreto Vaticano quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Christophoro Columbo repertas testantur Phototypia descripta* —(Typis Vaticanis *vinginti quinque* exemplaria ita sunt adornata ut illustrioribus tantum bibliothecis distribuerentur, 1893). One of these twenty-five copies was presented to Cardinal Gibbons and is now in the Library of the Catholic University of America. Of the twenty-three documents it contains, numbers 1–10 relate to the See of Gardar in Greenland.

1. Litterae Innocentii III datae die 13 m. febr. 1206 archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi.
2–5. Ioannis XXI die 4 m. decemb. 1276 eidem archiepiscopo.
6–7. Nicolai III diebus 31 m. ian et 9 m. iun. 1279.
8. Martini IV die 4 m. mart. 1282 archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi.
9. Nicolai V die 20 m. sept. 1448 episcopis Islandiae.
10. Alexandri VI paulo post an. 1492.

The scarcity of this collection is somewhat obviated by the reprints given in the *Catholic University Bulletin* (Vol. ii, 1896, pp. 503–14). The first letter is that of Innocent III to the Archbishop of Drontheim conferring metropolitan jurisdiction on that See; the next four documents (2–5) are from the chancery of John XXI and treat of the collection throughout Scandanavia and its dependencies of the tithes for the Crusades. Two letters o fNicholas III (6–7) touch on the same topic, as does also the letter of Martin IV (8) to the Archbishop of Drontheim. The letter of Nicholas V (9) to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holar bear witness to the sad decline of the Catholic faith in Greenland. The last letter, that of Alexander VI (10), describes the pitiable condition of the faithful in Greenland and speaks of the coming of the Bishop-elect, Mathias of Gardar. These letters together with other documents published by Jélic in *L'évangelisation de l'Amérique avant Christopher Colombe*, in the *Compte-rendu du Congrès Scientifique internationale des Catholiques*, Paris, 1891, form the source-material for a detailed study of the Church *in terra Gronlandiae*. Translations of these documents will be found in De Roo and De Costa. The link binding the Church in American Scandanavia to the Spanish discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be found to be the alleged voyage of Columbus to Iceland some ten years before 1492.

In a future issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, these ten documents with translations of the same will be reprinted. They deserve to be better known and to be in the hands of all American historical students.

The Rev. John G. O'Hara, C.S.C., recently ordained in Indianapolis by the Right Rev. Joseph Chartrand, Coadjutor-Bishop of Indianapolis, has returned to the Catholic University, where he is pursuing a course of South American history under the direction of the Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. Father O'Hara,

before his entrance into the Congregation of Holy Cross, was secretary to the American Legation in Buenos Ayres, and later taught for several years Spanish language and literature at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. Father O'Hara has taken up for his special work a volume of *Readings in Latin American Church History*. His tentative plan shows the scope of the work:

READINGS IN LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY (1492-1840)

INTRODUCTORY;
PERIOD OF DISCOVERY (1492–1519)

1. Missionaries who accompanied first explorers.
2. Missions established.
3. The Church as protector of the Indians.

PART I

PERIOD OF CONQUEST (1519–1580)

Chapters I–VII: Conquest of Mexico, Central America, Nueva Granada, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, R. de la Plata.

Topics: number of missionaries; place of origin; centers of operation; doctrina and Baptisms; efforts to civilize; explorations; writings.

PART II

COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENTS (1534–1781)

Chapters I–IX: Mexico, Nueva Granada, Guatemala, Venezuela, Peru, La Plata, Buenos Ayres, Chile, Cuba, Brazil, Santo Domingo.

Topics: Royal patronage; establishment of sees; relations of Church and State; ecclesiastics as civil rulers; salaries of Bishops and priests; allowances for monasteries; parishes; monasteries; hospitals; mission work; education, universities, seminaries, primary schools, useful trades; exploration; printing; science; laws; encomiendas and mitas; the Inquisition; American Saints.

PART III

RISE OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES (1781–1840)

Chapter I: The Expulsion of the Jesuits.
II: The Church and the Revolution.
III: Expulsion of the missionaries by Bolivar and Rivadavia.

A Syllabus of Latin-American History, by William Whatley Pierson, Jr., Ph.D., a recent publication from the University of North Carolina, consists of an outline and reading lists for the study of the economic history of the countries south of the Rio Grande. It is intended as a guide to lectures that must take the place of the non-existent text, and its author's apology is that "the diplomatic, political, and economic importance of Latin America has made of prime importance a thorough study and a sympathetic understanding of its past history and institutions. One must regret that the author has confined himself so largely to superficial studies in English in his reading lists, since it

seems reasonable to expect even undergraduate students of Latin-American history to have a knowledge of Spanish. In a narrow selective list a scholar would hardly expect to find the hurriedly written travelogues of Koebel and Enock, Mrs. Wright's picture albums, and Aker's *History of South America*, and it is now customary to view with suspicion the cooperative-plan productions of Lea and Hubert Bancroft. Serious reference to Speer's *South American Problems* or Blakeslee's *Latin America* is hardly conceivable. Mr. Moses has done some very honest work on Latin America, but in his last and most pretentious work, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, he has lost a chance for a splendid critical study. The earlier work of E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, is much more satisfactory. Chapter XX of this work, by the way, should be familiar to all Catholics, whether or not they are especially interested in South America. Those unable to read in the original Dr. Koch-Grünberg's *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern* will, by reading the English review of that work in the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union for October, 1911, be saved the perusal of Savage-Landor's two ponderous volumes, *Across Unknown South America*, recommended by Dr. Pierson. One looks in vain for any references to Dobritzhoffer, Funes, Charlevoix, Rosales, von den Steinen, Acosta, Figueroa, Padre Simon, Tschudi, Father Zahm, Larrabure y Unanue, La Condamine, Oviedo y Baños and hundreds of others who were scholars and keen observers.

It might be suggested, too, that if the purpose of Dr. Pierson's course is to instil in his pupils respect, and not mere patronizing sympathy, for their Latin-American contemporaries, he will do well to divide the course more evenly between the three hundred years of colonial life and the one hundred years of independence. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of this latter period, but for a proper understanding of the non-political element of Latin America—the great Catholic business and land-holding population—one must study their culture at its source, in the long period of colonial administration. The University of North Carolina is to be congratulated on its earnest endeavor to solve the Latin-American problem, but it should be careful to go to the sources, and not to muddied or poisoned streams.

Dr. Pierson's recommendation to the students of the University of North Carolina of Arnold Henry Savage-Landor's *Across Unknown South America* (Boston, 1913) suggests that the historical and ethnographic value of this work should be better known. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, in *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* (Appendix A, p. 347), quotes a letter from his learned Brazilian companion, Colonel Rondon, in which the latter states: "I can guarantee to you that in Brazil Mr. Landor did not cover a hand's breadth of land that had not been explored, the greater part of it many centuries ago."

The *Pastoral Blatt* of St. Louis is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. In a retrospect of its activity during that period, Father Holweck strikes an eloquent note:

Mit dieser Dezembernummer schliesst das Pastoralblatt seinen fünfzigsten Jahrgang. Fünfzig Jahre! Das ist ein schwerwiegendes Wort für eine deutsche Monatsschrift in fremdem Lande, oder besser, in einem Lande, wo die deutsche Sprache ausländisch ist. Fremd ist sie nicht, die deutsche Zunge, denn sie ist in diesen 50 Jahren gesprochen worden und wird heute noch gesprochen in jedem Staat der Union, vom Hudsonfluss bis zum Puget Sound, vom Obersee bis zum Rio Grande. Nach dieser fünfzigjährigen, mühevollen Wanderfahrt muss der Schriftleiter stillstehen, aufatmen, sich trotz der rauhen Novemberluft den Schweiss von der Stirne wischen und prüfend rückwärts schauen und vorwärts."

Then follows the historical life of this important journal the past fifty years. It is indeed an admirable record, and we join with him in his pious wish: "Möge der hl. Franz von Sales in den Gebeten, die er Gott dem Herrn für seine Schutzbefohlenen von der katholischen Presse darbringt, bei dieser Jubelfeier auch des Pastoralblatts gedenken." We bespeak for the *Pastoral Blatt* a hearty welcome in every clergy house where the Catholic glories of the Fatherland are still loved and imitated.

Dr. Condé B. Pallen has placed the entire Catholic Church of the United States under a debt of gratitude to himself by his edition of Andrew J. Shipman's *Life and Writings*. Andrew Jackson Shipman was born at Springvale, Va., October 15, 1857. His boyhood witnessed the troubled years of the Civil War. Educated at Georgetown, where he became a Catholic, he later took up journalism, and through an accidental meeting, was inspired to begin the study of the eastern European languages. How he mastered the difficult Slavic tongues and how he became the logical spokesman of the Catholic Slavs before the hierarchy of the country are well told by Dr. Pallen in the biographical sketch which precedes the edited articles of Shipman himself. He died on October 17, 1915, and from the many Resolutions on his death, from Ruthenian societies, from hospitals and colleges, and from the New York State Board of Regents, it can easily be seen what a large share he occupied in the Catholic lay apostolate of New York City. One of his most important articles is that entitled *Catholics of the Eastern Rites in the United States*, in which he describes the principal Catholic peoples in this country who use the Greek Rite:

1. Ruthenians, who use the Greek Rite in the ancient Slavonic language.
2. Melchites, who are Syrians, who use the same rite in the Arabic language, or who use Arabic or Greek interchangeably.
3. Rumanians, who use the Greek Rite in the Rumanian language.
4. Greeks, of Constantinople, Syria, Greece and lower Italy and Sicily, who use the Greek Rite in the original Greek language.

Other articles in this Memorial Volume treat of these different branches of the Eastern Churches and together they form a complete introduction to a difficult subject.

German Settlers and German Settlements in Indiana, a Memorial for the State Celebration, 1916, by Dr. Fritsch, of Evansville, Ind., is an interesting brochure

on the part the Germans and those of German descent have taken in the upbuilding of that State. Dr. Fritsch divides his little volume into eight chapters, dealing with the early Settlers of Indiana, the town of New Harmony, the center of the German population, the Germans in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, and the German pioneers in the learned professions. Occasional mention of Catholic Germans occur and from the tone of the book, we are certain that had Dr. Fritsch known better the Catholic history of his State, the Catholic pioneers and their posterity would have been treated as sympathetically as he has dealt with their non-Catholic brethren.

In a paper read before the Historic Spots Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., Miss Mary Louise Conrad gave her audience a sketch of the history of St. John's Church, Forest Glen, Md. This famous church, which has been called the Bethlehem of the faith here in the East, was founded by Father John Carroll in 1774. It was the center of a vast mission field, and was known as Rock Creek Mission. It was from Forest Glen that Father John Carroll went to join the Commissioners appointed by Congress to consult with the Canadians in 1776; and he was still pastor of the little church in 1784, when he received his appointment as Prefect Apostolic of the Catholic Church in the United States. The second church in Forest Glen was rebuilt in 1850, and in 1893 the present fine structure was erected. The present pastor, Father C. O. Rosensteel, has expended considerable care in the restoration of the old cemetery, and has collected all the sources available for the history of his celebrated parish. He possesses the Missal used by Carroll, the high altar of the first church, on which Father Carroll said Mass, and a chalice of that period. It is regrettable that no National Catholic Museum exists for such unique relics as these.

An Index of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (Vols. i–xxix, July, 1884, to July, 1912) has been published by the Society.

The following letter to one of the Editors from Señor Santiago Montero, one of the special research workers of the Archivo General de Indias, of Seville, will be welcomed by all who wish to pursue *a longe* their investigations in that great collection of American historical sources:

Sevilla, 15 de noviembre de 1916.

Muy señor mio:

Como investigador español que soy en este Archivo General de Indias donde hasta el dia de hoy llevo catalogados 15.823 documentos referentes a la Historia de la America Latina le ofrezco mis servicios en el mismo garantizandole desde luego la buena calidad del trabajo por la escrupulosidad y esmero con que se llevan a cabó los que bajo mi direccion se realizan. Mis condiciones puede verlas en el pliego adjunto.

Le agradeceré que nunca me dirija la correspondencia al Archivo General de Indias sino a Calle Abades no. 16 donde tengo mi domicilio y en espera de sus gratas ordenes quedo de V. afmo. s.s.

q.e.s.s.
Santiago Montero.

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8. Terminado el trabajo objeto de la investigación se me facilitarán dos ejemplares de la obra escrita cuyo importe sera enviado a vuelta de correo si no hubiera sido ya deducido con anterioridad.

Santiago Montero.

Sevilla, 15 de noviembre de 1916.

With the appearance of the 1917 edition of *The Official Catholic Directory*, attention ought to be called to the fact that one hundred years have elapsed since the issuance of the first Directory, for in 1817 *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service* was published and sold in New York by Matthew Field at his Library, 177 Bowery, within a few doors of Delancey Street. A short history covering the appearance of Catholic Directories since 1817 will be found in the editorial foreword which follows the title page of the 1917 issue.

According to the Centenary Edition of *The Official Catholic Directory* there are 17,622,879 Catholics in the United States (not including our island possessions). With sixty-four Archdioceses and Dioceses reporting increases, four showing decreases, thirty-three Archdioceses and Dioceses making no change in the population figure, the increase in the number of Catholics during the year 1916 is shown to be 458,770. It must be remembered in this connection, however, that the great Archdioceses such as New York, Chicago and Boston do not take a new census each year.

The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Vol. xlix, October, 1915, to June, 1916) contain many items of interest to Catholic students of history. William Roscoe Thayer contributes a *Memoir of Lucien Carr* (1829–1915) who will ever remain of the glories of St. Louis University. Professor Haskins writes a sympathetic and satisfying *Memoir of Charles Gross* (1857–1909). He says:

> "Throughout his life Gross was a tireless seeker after knowledge. He had a remarkable power of intense and sustained work, and he never spared himself. His love of study for its own sake appeared in his college years, when his room-mate regularly left him at his desk at night and found him there in the morning. His interest in history, likewise, declared itself at college, and after he had laid his foundations under such European masters as Pauli, Bresslau, and Monod, he devoted himself single-heartedly to the advancement of historical learning by research and teaching. As the field of his special interests he early selected the history of English institutions in the Middle Ages, and, like his friend Liebermann, also a pupil of Pauli, he brought the critical and systematic methods of continental scholarship to bear upon the vast and comparatively unexplored resources of the English records. He had the advantage of some years of work in the British Museum and Public Record Office before he took up academic duties in America, and he used every subsequent opportunity to return to these hunting-grounds, as well as to utilize the valuable collection of books which he gathered about himself in the Harvard library. He avoided no subject because of its difficulty or obscurity, and shrank from no labor which his investigations might demand, so that his works are models of thoroughness and accuracy; but he also brought to his studies qualities of insight, balance, and perfect lucidity of thought and statement which made him an acknowledged master in his profession. Among English historians he chiefly admired Maitland, most of all for the flashes of intuition and inspiration which he found wanting in himself; but if he lacked something of Maitland's brilliancy, he was not inferior in the sureness of his judgment or the solidity of his learning."

Gross' best known work is the *Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest Times to about* 1485, published in 1900, "which at once took rank as an indispensable instrument of investigation and an unsurpassed example of bibliographical workmanship." It became in reality the model of all bibliographies for the modern period.

With the March number (1917), the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* completes its third year and in that time has fully demonstrated its value to every student of history not only in the valley but throughout the United States. It is the official organ of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and is published quarterly under the direction of Clarence W. Alvord, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Illinois. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association was organized at Lincoln, Nebr., in 1907 through the efforts of the late Clarence Sumner Paine, who served as its secretary and treasurer until his death in 1916. He was supported in his work by the best known historians of the middle west. The Association has had a rapid growth and is destined to accomplish a great work. It has a field of the most romantic interest and a mission of the greatest importance to the history of the United States. This organization calls together in its annual meetings the active workers from all the states in the Valley and offers an opportunity of forming useful acquaintances and of participating in the discussions of problems that are of common interest. It is doing an important work in organizing, directing and carrying out the gathering of materials for a history of the Mississippi Valley, and this work can only be done by an Association thoroughly acquainted with the region. There is a vast field of Catholic History in the Valley and the Catholic clergy and laity should lend their efforts toward making this Association a powerful and influential organization.

From the Hollywood Junior College (Los Angeles, Cal.), comes a well-written booklet by Juliet Green, entitled *Relations between the United States and Great Britain* (1776–1915). It covers the numerous points of conflict between the two governments from the Treaty of Peace of 1783 down to the latest protests of President Wilson against the use of the American flag on British ships.

The *Content of American History as taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades* is the joint work of Drs. Bagley and Rugg, of the University of Illinois. (University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. xiii, No. 57, Bulletin No. 16 of the School of Education, Urbana, 1916.) It is an attempt to make an investigation of the "minimum essentials" of elementary geography or history. For purposes of comparison some twenty-three books were chosen at random as forming a basis of an analytic study of their respective volumes. One significant result of this analysis is the decline of any tendency to draw explicit moral lessons from historical events, in the histories published since 1890. The gradual change from the old-time emphasis upon political and military history to present-day economic and industrial history is described with a wealth of statistics, presented in an unusually pleasing way.

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PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

IV. Diplomatics

The progress which has been made in the science of history is due for the most part to the more profound study in recent times of original manuscript sources. These sources Reussens has divided into two general classes—*official documents* and *annals*. Under the head of *official documents* he lists pontifical documents, imperial acts, acts of bishops, princes, municipal authorities, notaries, etc. Under *annals* he mentions chronicles or histories composed by contemporary or quasi-contemporary writers.[1] To utilize these sources according to modern scientific method, the student must be able:

1. To decipher and to read all such documents (Paleography).
2. To judge their authenticity from their external and internal character (Diplomatics).
3. To assign to them an exact and precise date (Chronology).

It has been the tendency of the special student in the historical field to separate these three main auxiliaries into sciences apart from the general study of history itself, and the rather rapid development of these subordinate studies has created a tendency to augment their number. Books have multiplied in all these auxiliary branches, and it is quite possible that, with their arrival at a definite stage of development, the much discussed problem of the scientific nature of history may be settled. Of the problems which present themselves in the study of every document, the most important is that of its authenticity. To gather the documents upon any one episode in history, to transcribe them, and to accept them as evidence without subjecting them to a searching criticism both as regards their authentic nature and their value, is a thing of the past.[2] To enable the student to search for these original documents and to test them critically by a series of canons or laws which will prove or disprove their genuinity, is the object of the science of Diplomatics.[3]

"The kernel of all sound teaching in historical matters," writes Freeman in his *Methods of Historical Study*, "is the doctrine that no historical study is of any value which does not take in a knowledge of original authorities. . . . Any knowledge of history which is good for anything must be founded on the mastery of original authorities; but it will not be founded on an attempt to master all original authorities. Every student must master some; no student can master all. Even he who makes historical study the main business of his life cannot expect to master more than the original authorities for a few specially

[1] Reussens, *Eléments de Paléographie*, p. 1. Louvain, 1899.

[2] De Smedt, *Principes de la Critique Historique*, p. 83. Paris, 1883.

[3] "The business of this branch is the testing of the genuineness of records and other pieces of writing by outward signs, in contrast with the so-called 'higher criticism.'" Droysen, *Principles of History*, p. 22. Andrew's translation, Boston, 1893.

chosen periods."[4] In the study of American Church history, it is hardly any exaggeration to say that the ground has yet to be broken in practically every episode which has occurred in the early history of Catholicism in this country. There has never been any well-organized attempt to furnish American scholars, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, with the documentary evidence for the history of the Church. Not only has there been no effort, apart from the individual work of certain scholars at Georgetown, Philadelphia, Villanova, and at Notre Dame University, to gather up what relics remain in this country, but the Church in America as a whole has never recognized the necessity of gathering from every known depot the documents which trace its life from the ancient days when a hierarchy of many bishops ruled the See of Gardar down to our own time. Nor has the American government done its duty to Catholic American scholarship in this respect. London archival centers, as well as those of Paris and Berlin, possess collections of *Vatican Transcripts*, etc., etc., for the purpose of facilitating scholarly work in Church history.[5] But here in the United States, where so much of our early history is in reality Catholic history there has been comparatively little done to bring the great archival centers of the world to Washington by means of transcripts, photographs, or other diplomatic means of reproduction. If the Catholic Church in the United States is to be given the place it deserves in the history of the growth of the nation, it will only be done by bringing to light the history of its past. That past lies in documents still untouched, for the most part. Elsewhere in these pages we have dealt with this problem by suggesting the establishment of a National Catholic Archives at Washington—either as part of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress or as an adjunct of the Historical Department of the Catholic University of America. Such a National Catholic Archives would be divided logically into two main sources—foreign and domestic. The foreign section would contain transcripts or photographic copies of all the documents in Europe, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Central America, and South America, which in any way treat of the Church history of our country. By means of these transcripts, scholars would be enabled, under the same strict supervision which prevails in all archive depots, to write the history of the Church from original documents. Monographs, biographies, archeological treatises of the highest type could then be produced, and they would find a welcome in every scientific circle in the United States. In the domestic section, all the documentary evidence for the history of the Church, now scattered throughout the country, might be brought together, and we would be saved any repetition of the crimes which have occurred not only in the past but even in our own day, when valuable collections of ecclesiastical letters, documents, papers, and manuscripts were given to the flames for one reason or the other—usually to make room for others. Churchmen have not, however, been the only ones guilty of this crime. One of our best historical scholars, Dr. Alvord, in his paper: *The Relation of the State Historical Work*, speaks very frankly of the lack of consciousness on the part

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156, 158.

[5] Cf. *The Vatican Archives*, article in the *American Historical Review*, by CHARLES H. HASKINS, Vol. ii (1896-97), pp. 40–58.

of public officials of the seriousness of this situation. He tells the story of the Santa Fe manuscripts which were sold as rubbish to the merchants of the town; he describes the destruction of large collections of documents dealing with the French settlements of Cahokia and Kaskaskia by a clerk in house-cleaning time. Those who were present at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington in December, 1916, will remember the indignation which swept across that body when photographs were thrown upon the screen describing the present condition of our governmental archives. One can, however, excuse public officials; they are not ordinarily of a scholarly trend of thought. There is no excuse in ecclesiastical circles for the destruction or the non-preservation of documents which tell the story of the Church's progress in this country.

It may be a long time before any corporate ecclesiastical consciousness is aroused in this subject. Meanwhile through the medium of this periodical an effort is being made to reach those who have all such documentary collections in their posession. To give only one example of the necessity of arousing this spirit, one need only mention the fact that in one of our large Catholic centers, an American Historical Society, already in possession of some of the most valuable *Americana* in existence, has been asking in vain for years for a support adequately large enough to care for its manuscript collections as they deserve.

When the time does come that an effort will be made by some large-minded Catholic to fill this want in Catholic historical study, the Church will need trained archivists to establish as nearly as possible the true development of the Church from these untouched sources. Not only must there be scholars like Jaffé, Bresslau, Prou, Giry, Kehr, and others, who will publish authentic Regesta of these Catholic documentary collections, but there will be need also of trained students in all the auxiliary sciences of history. Their duty it will be to determine the admissibility of all such documentary sources and to test the evidence they contain by the canons of the more important specialized branches of historical science, such as historical bibliography, paleography, diplomatics, chronology and historical geography. Among these auxiliary branches, that of diplomatics is of supreme value.

The science of diplomatics has for its object the study of the historical value of documents. The word *diploma* is sometimes taken in a generic way to include the different kinds of documents which come under the historian's gaze: *charta, charte, notitia, epistola, litera, scriptura, acta, instrumentum, testamentum, chriographum, scriptum, documentum, roll, chartularium, register, contract, etc., etc.* Most of these classes of documents have characteristics which differentiate them, one from another; but certain aspects of them are common to all, and among these aspects one is of the highest importance to the historian—their authenticity. Diplomatics is the science of the authenticity of such documentary evidence. Documents are only valuable for direct historical evidence when they can be proven to be authentic, coming to us from a known source and of a definite time and place. To verify the authentic character of a document, to determine its provenance and to establish its time and place of composition, are all necessary preliminaries to the use of the document as historical evidence.

The question of authenticity is the most delicate of the three, and it is owing to the efforts of the historical students to reach certain fixed rules for such verification that we possess the auxiliary science of Diplomatics.[6] The authorship and the date of the document are not always so important that they need be known with exactitude, but until the document is proven genuine, there can be no question of its use for direct and immediate evidence. Any written document may justly be called a diplomatic source of history, and the science which has grown up around the problem of the authenticity of such sources furnishes the student with the definitions, the principles and the methods to be used in studying the governance of such sources, in interpreting their meaning, and in determining their value as historical material. It is quite possible, as Bresslau has said in another connection, that one can become a skilled worker in the field of history without being a Diplomatist; but if the scientific ability the science of Diplomatics creates and nourishes in the student be absent there will surely be discrepancies in his method of interpretation and valuation. Vincent has expressed this thought clearly in the following paragraph: "Although one may never devote himself to a period in which Latin documents are the rule, with the intention of becoming an expert diplomatist, it is nevertheles sessential that one should be familiar with the evidence and method by which conclusions are reached. Even for the reader who depends upon the printed copies it is necessary to know the construction of documents and the practices of chanceries, so that he may distinguish between what is formal and what is freshly communicated. For even if it is left to the paleographers to determine whether a document is genuine or not, there are certain parts of the paper which are historically more valuable than others, and the student should be able to decide what are merely notarial repetitions and what are expressions of will, or relations of fact. And in the case of the writing, each period has its peculiarities of expression, varying slightly from its predecessors. These have been so carefully studied that documents may be identified and dates established in large measure by the evidence of form. The office practice of every reign in the medieval empire has been classified by modern scholars, and by the combined application of paleography and diplomatics the world has been put into possession of a mass of sifted materials which were inaccessible to the earlier historians."[7]

There is a very imposing collection of sources for the history of the Catholic Church in the United States which cannot be used with skill unless they are tested by the principles of Diplomatics. Through these principles, the student is able to discover, establish, and verify the authenticity of the documents he wishes to use. Giry has given a classic mould to these principles in his *Manuel de Diplomatique*. His volume is divided into seven books which deal with the following subjects: (1) the object and history of the sciences; (2) technical chronology; (3) terminology of the document (persons, places, measures, language); (4) the organic structure of the document; (5) chancelleries; (6) unofficial documents; (7) forgeries. It is in defining the organic structure, or in

[6] GIRY, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, p. 4. Paris, 1894.

[7] VINCENT, *Historical Research, an Outline of Theory and Practice*, pp. 55-56. New York, 1911.

explaining the constituent elements of a legal documentary source that the science has reached its highest development. All such documents may be divided into three parts: the Protocol, the Text, and the Eschatocol. These are further divided as follows:

I. PROTOCOL.

1. The *Invocation*, viz, the expression of the name of God either nominally or symbolically. The *Chrismon* is the symbol usually found. Verbal invocations are numerous, *e. g.*, *In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis.*
2. The *Intitulatio*, or Title, containing the name of the grantor, *e. g.*, *Bonifatius episcopus, servus servorum Dei*, dilectis in Christo filiabus, etc.
3. The *Address*, or Inscription, containing the name and title of the person for whom the grant is made, *e. g.*, Bonifatius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, *dilectis in Christo filiabus N. N. priorisse et conventui monasterii inferioris Prumie per priorissam soliti gubernari, ordinis sancti Benedicti, etc.*
4. The *Greeting*, or salutation, *e. g.*, Bonifactius . . . Benedicti, *salutem et apostolican benedictionen.*

There are exceptions to this regular order in the Protocol in many documents, since some of these parts are not absolutely essential; but the general structure of the opening paragraph of any document of what is technically known as legal authenticity should contain them all at least implicitly. The four factors will be found at the present time in papal documents.

II. TEXT.

1. The *Prologue*, Arenga, Preambule, is practically the same as the exordium of a discourse, *i. e.*, an expression of general and often banal considerations *ad captandam benevolentiam.* It is found usually in donations of a pious character, *e. g.*, *Singularis necnec praecipua est divinae misericordiae causa, quia benignitati Salvatoris Domini Dei nostri, ea dignationis ratione, humanae fragilitati naturae placuit providendo consulere et consulendo providere ut in divinis voluminibus et sanis ornamenta et egrotis congrua dispensaverit remedia.* (From the *cartularium* of the Abbey of Saint-Père of Chartres, Vol. i, p. 84. The document details the conditions of a gift made to the Abbey in 998. Cf. GIRY, *op. cit.*, pp. 340–41. Cf. also for other examples VINCENT, *op. cit.*, p. 62.)
2. The *Promulgation*, Publication, Notification, notifies all and sundry of the contents of the document, *e. g.*, *Notum sit omnibus et singulis.* It is not always present in the document, and is usually joined to the Preambule by the conjunctions *igitur, ideo, idcirco*, etc.
3. The *Narration*, or Exposé, indicates the reasons which prompted the donation or the decision of the grantor. Sometimes it contains the petition made by those asking for the donation or confirmation in question. In this way the Narration may reveal valuable evidence for the identity of historical persons, places or events, otherwise unknown. Giry makes mention of the "intervention" of a third party, the intermediary, whose name sometimes appears in the document, as giving rise to the verb *ambasciare*, from which our word *ambassador* comes.

4. The *Disposition*, declares the will of the grantor or the object of the document in question. It usually opens with the words: *quapropter, ergo*[4] *his attentis*, etc. Vincent calls it the "kernel of the document, the legal act to which the other formalities give protection." (*Op. cit.*, p. 64.) The Disposition is usually contained in the words: *statuimus, precepimus, jussimius*, etc. In the Disposition the principal or essential part of the document has been expressed; it is followed by the sanctions or penal clauses which give a guarantee to the observance of the act itself.
5. The *Sanction*, contains different clauses destined to ensure the execution of the grantor's will in the affair. Those formulas are of many kinds. Giry treats in detail of seven classes of formulas. (*Cf. op. cit.*, pp. 553–567.)
6. The *Corroboration*, indicates the formalities which have been observed to legalize the act in question, or to insure its inviolability, *e. g., hanc chartam fieri rogavi, scripto commendari fecimus, praeceptum inde conscribi jussimus.* (Cf. Giry, *op. cit.*, pp. 568–70.)

III. Eschatocol,

which is sometimes called the Final Protocol, contains the closing formalities of the document, which are essential to its validity. Without these the document has no legal force.

1. The *Signatures* of the grantor, of the chancery officials, and of the witnesses. Sometimes the names are written out, sometimes monograms or sign-manuals are used. Some of the royal signatures of the Carolingian epoch are elaborate examples of monogrammic signatures. The seals used in validating the document have given rise to a distinct auxiliary science—Sigillography.
2. The *Date*, localizes the document in time and place. The auxiliary sciences of Chronology and Historical Geography have as their immediate object the determination of the date and place of the document.
3. The *Appreciation*, or final Invocation, in early medieval documents is an appeal to divine protection in the realization of the wish expressed in the act itself, *e. g., Deo gratias, felicite, felicite in Domino, Amen*, etc. It has seldom been used since the thirteenth century.

It would be a mistake to conclude that all legal acts contain these three main divisions of Protocol, Text, and Eschatocol, in exactly the same arrangement as here described, nor are the different subdivisions always disposed in the same order as given. Sometimes one or the other is lacking, and sometimes two or more of these parts are interlaced. The essential difference is that between Text and Protocol. A good example of legal ecclesiastical document containing almost all these subdivisions is the Apostolic Letter of Alexander VI, dated Rome, June 25, 1493, appointing Bernard Buil first Vicar Apostolic of the New World.[5]

Apart from these general indications of the organic structure of legal acts, the science of Diplomatics embraces also the following questions: sources of documents; language of documents; different stages in the construction of a legal document; methods of transmitting and preserving documents, and forgeries. Of these additional questions with which the science deals, the

[5] See facsimile of the same in Heywood, *Documenta Selecta, etc.*, pp. 27–35.

important one is that of the chancellery system of the courts of Europe, and for the Church historian the Papal chancellery is more important still. At the period when documentary evidence for American Church history begins, namely, the Apostolic Letter to Buil, all the canons of Diplomatics were in use, and have remained practically the same down to our own day, with certain changes which came during the pontificate of Leo IX (1048), Innocent III (1198), Eugene IV (1431), and Leo XIII (1887). Papal Bulls, Letters, Constitutions, Decretals, Briefs, etc., are all amenable to the searching criticism of Diplomatics.

To give any adequate bibliographical apparatus for the science is impossible in a brief sketch. The means and methods of research in archival centers grow in value year by year, and any general Manual, such as that of Giry, contains lists of guides, general catalogues, regesta, and relazione for this purpose. The richest of all these bibliographies is that of Oesterley, *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen*. (Berlin, 1885-86, 2 vols.) Giry gives a list of the facsimiles, which have been published up to his time, in the chronological order of the publication. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 42–50.) A general reference to his *Manuel de Diplomatique* is sufficient. There all the best-known students in this field will be found—Mabillon, Sickel, Ficker, Bresslau, Paoli, Erben, Tangl, Denifle, Pflung-Harttung, de Mas-Latrie, Berlière, Schiaparelli, Kehr, Jaffé, Prou, etc., etc. It will be with the aid of these works, and guided by the principles of the science of Diplomatics, that future students in American Church history will be able to construct that fundamental and necessary source for the Catholic history of the United States—the *Chartularium Americanum*.

(*To be continued*)

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